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PLURIDICTA
28

Teresa Cadierno

Comprehension and input processing as useful terms in the field of SLA

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Comprehension and input processing as useful terms in the field of SLA[1]

Teresa Cadierno
Aarhus Univesitet

1. Introduction

In the mid-seventies, in addition to studying learners' speech production, SLA research also began paying attention to the role of input in second language acquisition. Researchers like Wagner-Gough and Hatch (1975) were among the first ones to argue for the importance of studying L2 input. These researchers pointed to the fact that if anything interesting about the learner output was to be said, it was important to look at the target language input that the learner had to work with.

In the published literature on the role of input in SLA, two main basic domains of inquiry or perspectives can be found : (a) input and SLA as an interactional phenomenon, and (b) input and SLA as a psycholinguistic phenomenon.

Research done within the interactional perspective has tended to focus on factors *external* to the learner. Researchers have attempted to describe the nature -- both quality and quantity -- of the input that learners receive as well as the patterns of negotiation, adjustment of input and other related issues. This line of investigation has stressed the participant behavior of both natives and non-natives who provide input to the learner. The psycholinguistic perspective, on the other hand, has focused on factors *internal* to the learner. Research has been concerned with issues such as how learners process input, what part of that input becomes intake and what the processes involved are, the strategies used by learners to decode and store linguistic information, the role of working memory, and other related issues.

With this increased attention being been paid to the role of input in SLA, several terms such as "comprehension", "comprehended input", "input processing", "intake", "preliminary intake", "final intake", and "integration" have prominently figured in the literature. With the apparition of all these terms one can wonder if the terms

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[1] I would like to thank Althea Ryan for her valuable comments on earlier versions of this paper.

refer to the same phenomena or processes, if they refer to different phenomena or processes or, finally, if there is some overlapping between the terms as to the phenomenon or process they refer to. In other words, what we need is clarification of what the terms actually mean and refer to.

The aim of the present paper is twofold: first, to analyze the different terms as they are used by different researchers in order to find out both what the terms actually refer to and to define their boundaries, i.e., what they actually cover. With respect to this aim, it will be proposed that two terms are specially useful to cover the two types of processes that lie behind all the different terms: one of them is "comprehension", which is related to communication , and the other one is "input processing", which is related to acquisition; and secondly, to discuss the two concepts of "comprehension" and "input processing" in relation to each other. That is, to analyze what kind of relationship exists between the two. In this respect, four types of relationships can be possible: a. they are synonymous, b. they are mutually exclusive, c. one is a subset of the other, or d. they overlap. It will be argued that the overlapping relationship is the most appropriate one, and explanations of why the other types of relationships cannot be considered valid will be offered.

2. Review of terminology

As mentioned above, the terms "comprehension", "comprehended input", "input processing", "intake", "preliminary intake", "final intake", and "integration" have often appeared in the literature concerning the role of input in SLA. However, while the term "comprehension" has appeared in the literature concerned with both the interactional and the psycholinguistic perspectives, the rest of the terms have appeared only in the literature concerning the latter.

With regard to "comprehension", up to the mid 80´s, the term tended to be discussed in relationship to input studies based on an interactional perspective. In fact, as Faerch and Kasper (1986) noted, most input studies investigated the qualities that make input comprehensible to the learners, whereas little consideration was given to the comprehension process as such. According to these authors, this was the case mainly due to the crucial role that the Monitor Model (Krashen, 1981) placed on the notion of "comprehensible input" as the only causative variable of SLA.

However, in recent years, several SLA researchers have started to look at comprehension as a process, i.e., from a psycholinguistic perspective. These researchers have come up with definitions of what the process of comprehension is. Such definitions, however, have usually been offered parallel to definitions concerning the other terms mentioned above. More specifically, such definitions of comprehension have usually been contrasted with those of input processing, intake and/or acquisition or learning[2] .

Before discussing the ways in which the terms have been contrasted by different SLA researchers, it is necessary of define and explain what is meant by the term "input processing". The term, which has been coined by VanPatten (1990), refers to the set of processes involved in the conversion of input into intake. In other words, input processing is concerned with the kind of data that the learner makes available to the developing system. That is, it refers to the process of getting linguistic forms from the input which will eventually become part of the learner´s developing system. This set of processes is different from those involved in the restructuring of the internal developing system which will turn into the acquired system. That is, since there is no a priori reason or evidence to assume that all intake is automatically fed into such system, a distinction between "input processing" and "acquisition" seems to be justified. In a recent article, Sharwood-Smith (1993) has also used the term "input processing" to refer to the process of input being registered by the learner´s developing system. In other words, as in VanPatten´s definition, the term refers to the conversion of input to intake.

Among the first SLA researchers who implied a distinction between comprehension and learning were Faerch and Kasper (1980) who proposed a distinction between intake that is simply reduced and decoded as *communication*, and "intake as relating to *learning* [that] refers only to input on the basis of which the learner forms her hypotheses about the L2 rules and tests them consequently" (p. 64). The first intake is language only used for the purpose of immediate meaning in the course of a conversational interaction, while the second is intake which is incorporated into a learner's grammar. In other words, the first intake that Faerch and Kasper refer to is related to communication while the second type is related to acquisition.

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[2] For the purpose of this paper, the terms "acquisition and "learning" are considered synonymous. That is, no distinction is made between the two terms in Krashen´s sense.

Furthermore, the above mentioned authors also claim that the latter type, intake as learning, is much more restricted than the former. Their definition of intake is similar to the one used by Corder (1967), who was the first to differentiate between input and intake. For Corder, intake is "what goes in and not what is available to go in" (p. 165), i.e., intake is viewed as the process of assimilating linguistic material. Faerch and Kasper (1980) have similarly defined intake as the subset of the input which is assimilated by the IL system and which the IL system accommodates to.

As a consequence of such a distinction, Faerch and Kasper (1980) have differentiated between *learning strategies* such as induction --which relates to L2 intake exclusively –, and inferencing and non-inferencing transfer strategies – which make use of prior knowledge and experience, and *communication strategies* such as reduction strategies, (governed by avoidance behavior) and achievement strategies (governed by achievement behavior).

Another distinction between processing (i.e., decoding) the input for communication and for learning can be found in VanPatten (1985) who has proposed two different processing strategies for L2 learners: one where attention demands are so great that input can be processed only for informational content – the communicative processing strategy, and a second, where attention and effort are available to process incoming linguistic input for structures as well as content – the learning strategy. The first strategy seems to relate to the comprehension process since the input is processed for meaning, while the second strategy seems to relate more specifically to input processing, since the input is also processed for linguistic forms.

According to VanPatten, when the communicative processing strategy is a controlled process –one which requires a large amount of effort –, the learner can attend only to the informational content of an utterance. Then, the elements carrying communicative information like content words, lexical items, and "meaningful" morphology become focal (VanPatten, 1990). Later on, when this process becomes more automatic, learners can apply the learning strategy, and can turn their attention to those peripheral elements of the language that are not so communicatively important, like "non-meaningful" morphology.

The communicative processing strategy and the learning strategy are not mutually exclusive. For instance, if the access of meaning is an automatic process, i.e., it requires no conscious effort for a particular utterance, attention and effort are available to the learner to apply the learning strategy. Therefore, processing for meaning and processing for form are not mutually exclusive, but can happen simultaneously. This issue will also be discussed in detail in the second section when discussing which is the most appropriate relationship between comprehension and input processing.

An implicit distinction between comprehension and acquisition can also be found in Hatch (1983), who has identified two main functions of simplified input. One function is to promote *communication* in the sense that simplified input facilitates the comprehension of messages by L2 learners, thus making communication possible. The second function is to promote *learning*, i.e., it serves as an implicit teaching mode, which results primarily from the negotiation process involved in interaction. In this way, the negotiated input to the learner can be thought of as supplying the learner with a language-learning syllabus.

The distinction between comprehension and acquisition is also present in Chaudron´s (1985) characterization of intake. According to this author, intake is a complex phenomenon involving several stages: (a) the initial stages of perception of input, (b) the subsequent stages of recoding and encoding of semantic (communicated) information into long-term memory, and (c) the series of stages by which learners fully integrate and incorporate the linguistic information into their developing grammars. Chaudron regards these stages as a continuum from preliminary intake to final intake. What is important to highlight here is the fact that when he talks about preliminary intake he is actually referring to perception and comprehension of forms (1983:438). Therefore, for Chaudron, the initial stages of intake refer to the comprehension process, while the last stages refer to input processing and acquisition, i.e., the integration of linguistic forms into the learners' grammars.

Another important issue mentioned in Chaudron (1983) is his suggestion that comprehension is a necessary condition for final intake: "the influence of input in enhancing comprehension would seem to be a prerequisite for later incorporation of structures in learners' active competence" (1983:439). This issue will also be considered in more in detail in the second section of this paper.

One of the authors who makes the most explicit distinction between comprehension and acquisition is Sharwood-Smith (1986, 1993). According to him, language input should be considered in the light of the different notions of *comprehension* – defined as the decoding of particular messages which have been encoded in linguistic form – and *acquisition* – defined as the creation of new mental structures. Thus, the interpretation of input will take two forms: that which involves extracting meaning from all relevant information perceived by the learner – comprehension –, and that which involves the mechanisms responsible for creating grammatical competence – acquisition.

Therefore, according to Sharwood-Smith, there are two ways of processing input: one for comprehension and one for acquisition. He further claims that both processes can happen at the same time; that is, at a specific moment, the learner's main aim may be to extract meaning and succeed in a given communicative interchange. In this case, only those aspects of the input which will aid the learner in his communicative endeavor will be relevant, i.e., the learner will interpret for meaning. However, *at the same time*, there will be linguistic input which will be relevant to the current state of the learner's competence so that the acquisition device will interpret for acquisition. As it will be seen in the second section of this paper, this claim will also be of great help in determining which is the most appropriate relationship between comprehension and input processing.

Gass (1988) also makes explicit reference to the differences between comprehension and intake and integration. Gass presents a comprehensive framework of the SLA process incorporating sociolinguistic, psycholinguistic, and linguistic aspects of acquisition. In her framework, she introduces five levels in a learner's conversion of input to output: (a) apperceived input, (b) comprehended input, (c) intake, (d) integration, and (e) output. With regard to *comprehension*, Gass defines it as a continuum of possibilities ranging from semantics to detailed structural analyses; that is, comprehension is potentially multi-staged. Thus, one can comprehend something only at the level of meaning, but it is also possible to have a more analytic understanding taking place. She claims that there are several means by which one can reach a linguistic analysis, the most common way being by first understanding the meaning of the message. However, it is also possible to have an understanding of the syntax, and yet not be able to arrive at a meaning --the case of idioms and proverbs. This claim will also be of crucial importance in deciding on the appropriate relationship between the two terms under discussion.

According to Gass, it is also important to separate comprehended input from intake since not all input which is comprehended becomes intake. Input may be comprehended only for the immediate purpose of a conversational interaction, or it may be used for purposes of learning. This distinction is similar to that of Faerch and Kasper (1980), the only difference being that Faerch and Kasper refer to both cases as instances of intake, whereas for Gass, intake only refers to the process of attempted integration of linguistic information; that is, input that is only used in a conversation and for the sake of that conversation is not considered as intake but as comprehended input in Gass' framework. Finally, Gass also stresses the importance of separating intake from integration since not all intakes becomes integrated into the learners´acquired system. This distinction is comparable to that expressed by VanPatten between "input processing" and "acquisition".

Finally, according to VanPatten (1990), comprehension as a process is related to communication, that is, comprehension encompasses the processes and strategies that learners use to extract meaning from the input. Input processing, on the other hand, is related to acquisition, that is, the conversion of input into intake, or the process of building up mental representations of the linguistic system. However, it is important to emphasize again that, for VanPatten, input processing does not equal acquisition. As said above, input processing refers more specifically to the processes involved in getting intake out of the input. In the process of acquisition, on the other hand, several factors are involved that are not just input processing. One of these would be the constraints existent on the shape that grammars can have. Thus, according to Chomsky's Universal Grammar, every person is born with an innate knowledge of universal principles which constitute constraints on the kind of grammars that the child can develop. However, UG does not provide the child with ready-made rules which he can incorporate into his grammar. Rather, it sets parameters according to the particular input data that the child is exposed to. Factors like this, then, have nothing to do with input processing itself, but with how the intake is organized in the learners' mind in relation to other principles and parameters that already exist in the child´s mind.

In summary, all the SLA researchers mentioned above have been concerned in one way or another – some more explicitly than others – with the process of comprehension and with those of input processing and/or acquisition. From all the definitions given above, there seems to be a silent consensus on two basic distinct processes:

> (1) comprehension, which is related to communication, and which could be defined as the processing or decoding of the input for meaning (i.e., Færch and Kasper´s intake decoded as communication, VanPatten's communicative processing strategy, Hatch´s communicative function of simplified input, Chaudron´s initial intake, Sharwood- Smith´s decoding of input for comprehension and Gass´s comprehended input), and
>
> (2) input processing, which is related to acquisition, that is, the conversion of input into intake, and which could be defined as processing or decoding the input for linguistic form (i.e., Færch and Kasper's intake as relating to learning, VanPatten´s learning strategy, Chaudron´s final intake, Sharwood´s Smith's decoding of input as acquisition and Gass´s intake and integration).

These two terms are useful since they allow us on the one hand to distinguish the possibility of processing input for meaning and/or for form, and on the other hand, because the term "input processing" allows for the differentiation between processing the input for form and the eventual acquisition or integration of these forms in the learner´s acquired system. It is important to note that not all researchers make this last distinction, that is, between the process of decoding the input for form or assimilating linguistic material (input processing or intake) and the process of incorporating that linguistic material in the learners´ developing grammars (acquisition). This distinction is one worth making since a second language learner can at a given time process the input for a specific linguistic form, that is, attend to a specific form, and consequently, that form becomes intake, without that form eventually becoming part of the acquired system. In other words, as both Sharwood-Smith and VanPatten suggest, when confronted with L2 input a learner can decode such input for meaning only, or for both meaning and form. Whether that form gets incorporated eventually in the learners´ linguistic acquired system is another matter. Furthermore, the distinction is one worth making since, as VanPatten remarks, the process of acquisition encompasses factors such as how intake is organized in the learners' mind in relation to UG´s principles and parameters which have nothing to do with input processing itself.

Based on the definitions given above on comprehension and input processing, the next section will discuss four possible relationships between the two processes behind the two terms and will provide evidence that one of these relationships – the overlapping one – is the most appropriate one.

3. Relationship between the concepts of "comprehension" and "input processing"

After establishing that the terms "comprehension" and "input processing" refer to two different processes, this section will examine what is the precise relation that exists between the concepts referred to by the terms. Theoretically, the relationship between any two given set of processes could be one of synonymity, one of mutually exclusivity, one of subset or one of overlapping. From the definitions given by SLA researchers which have been reported above, the relationship between "comprehension" and input processing" cannot be one of synonymity. However, additional evidence based on actual research will be provided to further reject this relationship. Furthermore, of the four types of relationship discussed, evidence will be offered which suggests that only one of them – the overlap relationship – seems to be appropriate.

3.1 Synonymous relationship

The first possible relationship between the two terms is that they are synonymous, that is, the two terms refer to the same phenomenon. Figure 1 graphically illustrates this relationship.

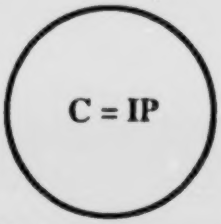

Figure 1. Synonymous relationship between comprehension (C) and input processing (IP).

The synonymous relationship can be rejected as being the appropriate one by means of two main arguments:

(a) it is possible to comprehend, i.e., to get meaning out of the input, and still not pay attention to the forms present in such input (which could become candidates for acquisition); and

> (b) it is also possible to pay attention to form, i.e., to process the input for grammatical forms without the process of comprehension taking place.

With regard to the first argument, several studies done in SLA research have shown that it is possible for learners to get meaning out of the input (i.e., process the input for comprehension) without paying attention to the forms present in it (i.e., process the input for acquisition). Evidence for this argument can be found in VanPatten (1985), who points out that learners selectively attend to input by focusing on the meaning of the message directed at them and ignoring the forms in the input. Thus, VanPatten cites Schapira's (1978) reports on Zoila who seems to ignore how things are said, paying attention only to the informational content of the input. He also cites Wenden's (1983) ESL learner who reveals the use of the same strategy that Schapira reports for Zoila. In Wenden´s case, the ESL learner himself overtly mentions that he ignores structure, i.e., form, when attending to someone else´s speech. That is, in Sharwood-Smith´s terms, he ignores form when he´s interpreting the input for meaning.

Finally, VanPatten cites his own study (VanPatten 1983, 1984a) with ten adult learners of Spanish. In this longitudinal study, VanPatten was able to isolate many instances where learners were ignoring how something was said to them. An example was the following interchange between interviewer and the learner (p. 91).

> I: (pointing to a picture) ¿Cómo *están* ellos? (How are they?)
> L: *Son* contento. (They are happy)

In this example, the learner did not attend to the copula verb being used by the interviewer. Moreover, when, intrigued by this phenomenon, the interviewer phrased the question again by moving the copula to a more salient position (i.e., at the end of the sentence), the learner still did seem to pay attention to the type of copula verb used in the question and used instead the wrong copula verb. In short, instances like the ones just mentioned show that the learner's attention was focused on communication while input was being processed, and that form was being ignored.

Other studies which provide evidence for the possibility of processing the input for meaning, and not for form are Glass and Cadierno (1990) and Cadierno and Glass (1991) studies on the processing of temporal reference. In these studies, learners of Spanish were provided with two different sets of discourse level input: one in which both temporal adverbials and past verb morphology was present, and one in which the adverbials were absent. The results of the studies showed that learners were relying on the adverbials --lexical information – to get the meaning, and were ignoring the verb morphology in assigning tense.

A similar study was conducted by Musumeci (1989) at the sentence level and with learners of Italian, Spanish and French. While four conditions were present in her investigation (adverbials plus verb morphology, verb morphology alone, verb morphology plus typical teacher physical gestures – e.g. thumb over shoulder to indicate past – and adverbials plus verb morphology plus physical gesture), her results also showed that learners assigned tense by focusing on the lexical items – adverbials –, since they have a higher communicative value than verb morphology. In other words, as in the case of the two other studies on the processing of tense, Musumeci´s investigation showed that when learners process input for meaning, attention tends to be paid to lexical items while grammatical forms tend to be ignored.

With regard to the second argument (i.e., it is possible to process the input for forms without comprehension taking place), some researchers like Chaudron (1983) have noted that comprehension is a necessary condition for the incorporation of the structures of the language in the learner's competence. However, although comprehension usually precedes input processing and therefore, acquisition, some SLA researchers have indicated that it is possible for learners to process the input for form without paying attention to the meaning, i.e., without the process of comprehension taking place. As it was mentioned in the first section of this paper, this possibility has been recognized by Gass (1988) for whom it is possible to have "an understanding of the syntax, yet not being able to arrive at a meaning. This would be in the case of idioms for example, or a proverb." (p. 205)

Another piece of evidence comes from VanPatten's study on learners' comprehension of clitic pronouns (1984b). This study has shown that when learners are presented with sentences where the subject of the sentence does not appear in preverbal position, and a clitic pronoun appears in that position instead, learners tend to interpret the sentences following the strategy of NP-V-NP = subject-verb-object. This result suggests that when interpreting such sentences, learners pay attention to the structural order of the elements or forms present in the sentences without taking into consideration what the real meaning of the sentences is. This is mainly due to the facts that both the subject and the object are capable of performing the action of the verb, and that no discourse context is provided.

Finally, some research conducted with artificial languages has also provided evidence for this possibility. For example, studies done by Dulany et al. (1984) and Reber et al. (1985) have shown that subjects who are presented with strings of meaningless words are capable of getting forms and rules out of the input without any comprehension of meaning taking place.

In summary, the evidence presented above leads to the rejection of the synonymous relationship between "comprehension" and "input processing" as the appropriate one.

3.2 Mutually exclusive relationship

The second possible relationship between the two terms is that they are mutually exclusive, i.e., they are not related to each other in any way. This relationship is graphically shown in figure 2.

Figure 2. Mutually exclusive relationship between comprehension (C) and input processing (IP).

Evidence will be offered to show that this relationship is not the appropriate one either. The main argument for rejecting this relationship is that there seems to be some sort of relationship between comprehension and input processing because, despite the cases mentioned in the above section, both processes can and actually tend to take place at the same time. As it was mentioned in the first section of this paper, this argument has been offered by Sharwood-Smith (1986) who points to the fact that a learner can interpret for meaning – comprehension – at the same time as he processes for form – acquisition. VanPatten himself (1985) has also claimed that processing input for meaning and processing input for forms as well as content can happen simultaneously.

A piece of evidence from SLA research is VanPatten's (1989) study. In this investigation, learners were faced with the simultaneous task of processing both for meaning and form. Although his study showed that learners exhibited a drop in comprehension when they were asked to perform such task, the study, nevertheless, provides evidence that both attention to meaning and form can occur simultaneously. The same kind of evidence is present in Bransdorfer's (1989) study in which subjects' ability to simultaneously process meaning and form was also tested. His study aimed at investigating whether more meaningful forms were easier to process than less meaningful ones. Although the results of his experimentation revealed that there seems to exist some differentiation in how simultaneous processing of meaning and two different forms (i.e., a preposition and a definite article) affect comprehension of content, this study also provides evidence for the possibility of processing for both meaning and form simultaneously.

A third study where the learners had to focus on meaning and form at the same time is that of Berne (1989). Her study showed that even when subjects are presented with a simplified input, the task of processing for both meaning and form at the same time is a difficult one when the forms do not contribute to meaning. However, again, the study suggests that processing for meaning and processing for form can take place at the same time when the forms carry important content information.

Summarizing, the studies mentioned above provide evidence for the claim that the exclusive relationship between comprehension and input processing is not the appropriate one since the processes of comprehension and input processing can take place simultaneously, thus suggesting some sort of relationship between the two processes.

3.3 Subset relationship

A third possible relationship between comprehension and input processing is that one is a subset of the other. Two possible subset relationships can exist between the two terms. Both are graphically illustrated in Figure 3.

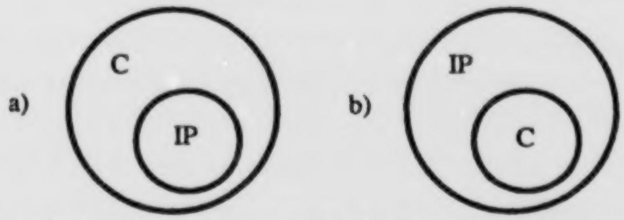

Figure 3. Subset relationships between comprehension (C) and input processing (IP).

In a) input processing is shown as a subset of comprehension. This relationship implies that as one comprehends one always processes input.

In b) comprehension is shown as a subset of input processing. This relationship implies that as one processes input one always comprehends.

The same arguments that were used to reject the synonymous relationship can be used here to reject the two types of subset relationships. More specifically, (a) is not the appropriate relationship since it is possible to comprehend the meaning intended in the input and not pay attention to specific grammatical forms present in such input. (b), on the other hand, is not the appropriate relationship either since it is possible to process input for form without comprehension taking place.

3.4 Overlap relationship

A fourth possible relationship between comprehension and input processing is that they overlap. This relationship is graphically shown in Figure 4.

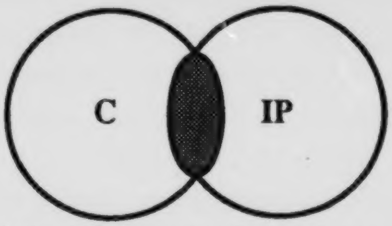

Figure 4. Overlapping relationship between comprehension (C) and input processing (IP).

This relationship implies that neither comprehension nor input processing are subsets of one another, but that they share something in common; that is, processing input to get form and attending input as you comprehend overlap, i.e. when learners get meaning they can also get form and viceversa. In other words, building up a mental representation of the linguistic system of the language is not necessarily divorced from getting meaning. In addition, this relationship also allows for the possibilities of having comprehension without paying attention to form, and of processing input for form without comprehension taking place at the same time.

Evidence for the appropriateness of this relationship has already been discussed above. The overlapping relationship can account for the following three possibilities: (a) comprehension can happen without processing for form taking place; (b) processing the input for form can happen without comprehension of the meaning of the input taking place; (c) finally, it is also possible that the two processes overlap, i.e., that they take place simultaneously.

The argument that processing for meaning and for form overlap is intuitively appealing when we consider the fact that as learners attend to the meaning of the input, they also tend to pay attention to those forms in the input that are communicatively important, since these are key items in enhancing the comprehension of meaning (VanPatten, 1989; Glass and Cadierno, 1990; Cadierno and Glass, 1991; Bransdorfer, 1989; Berne, 1989). Therefore, communicatively important forms like content words, lexical items, and "meaningful" morphology have priority over "non-meaningful forms" when the process of paying attention to the informational content in the input is still a controlled process. Only when this process becomes more automatic, can learners turn their attention to those forms in the input that are not so communicatively important (VanPatten, 1985). However, even when the learners are capable of paying attention to the "not-so-meaningful" forms in the input, the process of comprehending the meaning in the input is still operant.

To summarize, in this section, four possible relationships between the processes of comprehension and input processing have been considered, and evidence has been provided in support of the overlapping relationship. Such a relationship has been shown to be the appropriate one since it can account for the following possibilities: (a) to have comprehension without input processing for form; (b) to have input processing for form and no comprehension; and (c) to have overlapping of the two, i.e., both comprehension and input processing taking place simultaneously.

Conclusion

The aim of this paper has been twofold: 1) to clarify some of the processes involved in language use and learning and to suggest suitable terms for two of these processes: "comprehension" and "input processing". And 2) to discuss the precise type of relationship that might exist between these two processes, where an overlapping relationship would seem the most appropriate, as it can account for a series of possibilities reported in the literature and in research.

It is hoped that discussions like the present one will help us to increase our understanding of language processing.

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On the role of instruction in SLA: Research results and theoretical explanations

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PLURIDICTA 28 Teresa Cadierno: Comprehension and input processing as useful terms in the field of SLA.

On the role of instruction in SLA: Research results and theoretical explanations

Teresa Cadierno
Aarhus Universitet

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The aim of the present paper is to discuss the role of formal instruction in the acquisition of a second language. Research carried out in this area of inquiry is reviewed and analyzed according to whether its results support the following positions: no-effect position, detrimental-effect position and positive-effect position. The effects of instruction are considered with respect to the route of acquisition, rate of acquisition, accuracy of acquisition and success or eventual attainment. Furthermore, theoretical explanations of the role of instruction in SLA are reviewed and an evaluation is made with respect to the research results that they can account for. Finally, a new theoretical explanation, based on input processing theory is presented.

1. Introduction

Over the years language instructors have often wondered about the discrepancy that exists between what learners are taught, what they learn and what they actually produce. Despite this discrepancy, however, language teaching was and still is today viewed by many as the inculcating of grammatical competence in the learners. Thus, in many instructional methods, an assumption exists that focusing on linguistic form aids the acquisition of grammatical knowledge. This has been true for both inductive and deductive methods of language teaching.

Inductive methods such as audiolingualism, which dominated the language teaching profession in U.S.A. during the fifties and the sixties, viewed foreign language learning as a mechanical process of habit formation. As a consequence, learners were provided with a great amount of practice whose aim was to focus on specific linguistic forms. Learners were encouraged to induce and to ultimately form a more or less unconscious mental representation of the grammar of the FL. Deductive methods such as the cognitive code method appeared in the seventies as a reaction to audiolingualism. Cognitive code theory assumed that perception and awareness of second language rules preceded the use of these rules. Thus, competence in the language was equated with explicit knowledge of grammatical rules.

In the 1980's, methodologies adhering to the ACTFL Proficiency Guidelines in U.S.A. have also stressed linguistic accuracy in the development of communicative ability in L2 learners. On the other hand, other current methodologies like the Natural Approach have rejected any systematic presentation and practice of the linguistic code, and have focused, instead, on helping learners to acquire communicative competence in the second language and to induce grammar from the input to which they are exposed. These two opposite views concerning the role of grammar instruction have generated some debate in the language teaching profession.

At the same time, a growing interest in the role of formal instruction in second language acquisition (SLA) has developed in L2 research. While in the sixties, studies attempted to investigate what kinds of formal instruction facilitated SLA the most (Sherer and Wertheimer, 1964), in the seventies, L2 research began investigating whether formal instruction "per se" aided SLA. The basic question being asked was: Does formal instruction make a difference in the acquisition of a second language? By formal instruction is meant any attempt to intervene directly in the process of interlanguage construction by providing samples of specific linguistic features for learning. In other words, does the teaching of the formal system of the L2, in particular, its grammar, make a difference in SLA?

The investigation of the role of formal instruction in SLA is an important task both for developing a theoretical understanding of SLA and for language pedagogy. In the case of the former, such investigation can shed light on how differences in environmental conditions --naturalistic vs classroom settings-- affect SLA. In other words, since classroom discourse is generally different when compared to naturally occurring discourse, an important question to address is in what ways this difference affects the process of SLA in the classroom. Additionally, this kind of research is important to theory because it can test claims regarding universal constraints such as markedness; that is, it can test issues such as whether unmarked features are learned before marked ones.

With respect to its contributions to language pedagogy, such research can help to test basic pedagogic assumptions such as whether a focus on linguistic forms aids the acquisition of grammatical knowledge or whether the order in which grammatical structures are presented corresponds to the order in which they are learned.

Research into the role of instruction in SLA has generally distinguished between four different aspects of SLA; the *route* of development (i.e., the general sequence or specific order of acquisition), the *rate* of development (i.e., the speed at which learning takes place), the *success* or eventual attainment of acquisition (i.e., the overall proficiency achieved in the L2 across time), and finally, the *accuracy* of acquisition (i.e., the accuracy with which specific linguistic items are acquired). These four aspects of SLA will be considered in the following section where different positions on the role of formal instruction in SLA will be discussed.

2. Positions on the role of formal instruction in SLA

If research on the effects of instruction in SLA is examined closely it can be concluded that three main positions have been taken concerning its role on the acquisition of a second language: The first position to be discussed maintains that formal instruction has no effect on SLA; the second, that instruction has a detrimental effect on SLA; and the third, that instruction has a positive effect on SLA.

2.1 The no-effect position

The no-effect position has been mainly adopted by researchers who have investigated the role of formal instruction on the *route* or sequence of acquisition. and on formal accuracy.

With respect to the route of development, research has suggested that instruction is powerless to prevent developmental errors in L2 learners, that is, the same developmental errors are found in both classroom and naturalistic SLA (Felix, 1981; Felix and Simmet, 1981), and that it does not seem to alter the route of acquisition of grammatical morphemes (Krashen, Sferlazza, Feldman & Fathman, 1976; Fathman, 1978; Makino, 1980; VanPatten, 1990a) or syntactic features such as word order, relative clauses and structures such as negatives and interrogatives (Wode, 1981; Ellis, 1984a; Pavesi, 1986; Weinert, 1987; Ellis, 1989) by classroom learners as compared to naturalistic learners.

With respect to formal accuracy, the studies suggest that instruction has a very limited role in improving the accuracy of the linguistic forms under treatment. Although instruction seems to have some effect on paper-and pencil tasks, it does not seem to have much effect on normal spontaneous communication. Furthermore, although it seems to be able to improve accuracy in careful, planned speech, this improvement may disappear over time (Perkins and Larsen-Freeman, 1975; Schumann, 1978; Lightbown, Spada & Wallace, 1980; Ellis, 1984b; Terrell, Baycroft and Perrone, 1987; Kadia, 1988).

2.2 The detrimental-effect position

While some studies have shown no effects of formal instruction on SLA, other studies have suggested that formal instruction has detrimental effects on the acquisition of a second language. As was the case with the previous position, this position has been suggested by researchers who have investigated the effects of instruction on the route of acquisition. The studies suggest that instruction does not prevent "natural" errors, but can actually interfere with the "natural" process of language learning since it can result either in an avoidance behavior or in some structures being "overlearned" before the learners are ready for them. This "over-learning" causes a delay in the acquisition of certain grammatical features when compared to naturalistic second language acquisition (Felix, 1981; Lightbown, 1983; Pica, 1983). Furthermore, due to the practices of many instructional methods, which require immediate production from learners, instruction may also trigger syntactic structures that have not been reported in naturalistic SLA (Eubank, 1987) or may result in heavy reliance o routines and patterns, thus blocking for a time learners' processes of interlanguage construction and development. In other words, instruction may interfere with the natural processes of acquisition, resulting in deviations from both target language and interlanguage norms.

2.3 The positive-effect position

Positive effects of formal instruction have been reported for the speed and ultimate success of acquisition and also for the route of acquisition. One of the strongest positions for the positive effects of instruction is the one taken by Long (1983). After examining eleven studies dealing with the effects of instruction on both the rate and success of acquisition, he concluded that there was considerable evidence to indicate that instruction does make a difference in the acquisition of a second language. Furthermore, he claimed that instruction was beneficial (1) for both children as well as adults; (2) for intermediate and advanced students; (3) irrespective of whether acquisition is measured by means of integrative or discrete-point tests; and (4) in acquisition-rich as well as acquisition-poor environments.

Although the conclusions reached by Long have been the object of criticism on a number of grounds (Ellis, 1986; VanPatten, 1988), other studies like Weslander and Stephany (1983), Spada (1986) and Ellis and Rathbone (1987) have also suggested that formal instruction is of value in promoting rapid and higher levels of acquisition.

With respect to the route of acquisition, researchers such as Lightbown (1983, 1987) and Pica (1983) have suggested that the effect of instruction is a temporary one since natural processing took over once the grammatical structures were no longer the object of instruction, and that the effects are selective, that is, it is related to the linguistic complexity of the features of the language. Furthermore, claims for the positive effects of instruction on the route of acquisition have also been made in the so-called projection studies (Gass, 1979; Zobl 1983, 1985; Henry, 1986; Pavesi, 1986;

Eckman, Bell, & Nelson, 1988) which claim that instruction can result in the acquisition of not only those features that have been taught, but also of other features that are implicationally associated with them. This is possible because learners are assumed to possess a projection device which enables the acquisition of one rule to trigger the acquisition of other rules that are clustered with it. Another finding of these studies is that instruction in marked features can facilitate the acquisition of unmarked features, but not vice versa.

3. Current frameworks for examining the effects of instruction

While SL research has been mainly concerned about whether or not instruction affects the route, rate, accuracy and ultimate success of language acquisition, it is still not clear why instruction would make a difference. Although several attempts have been made at explaining such effects like, for example, the non-interface position, the interface position, the variability position, the projection hypothesis, and the teachability hypothesis, none of these theories have been able to account successfully for the results of the empirical research. In this section, an examination of how each position can account for the results of the research on the effects of instruction on SLA will be provided.

3.1 The non-interface position

The non-interface position has been advanced most strongly by Krashen (1982) who claims that two types of linguistic knowledge exist in SLA: "acquisition", which occurs when the learner engages in natural communication where the focus is on meaning and where there is comprehensible input, and "learning", which occurs as a result of formal study where the learner is focused on the formal properties of the second language. According to Krashen's non-interface position, these two types of knowledge are separate and unrelated since learning can not turn into acquisition.

Given that "learning" cannot turn into "acquisition", for Krashen, the main purpose of teaching should be to afford opportunities for "acquisition", that is, for real communication in the L2. Furthermore, since the only possible source of "acquisition" is comprehensible input directed at the learners, instruction will only be beneficial when it is the main source of comprehensible input. Therefore, instruction will be more beneficial for learners such as beginners and foreign language learners who cannot readily utilize the informal naturalistic environment for input. On the other hand, it will be of little or no value for those learners who have other sources of comprehensible input, and who are linguistically advanced enough to take advantage of it.

By positing two separate and independent linguistic knowledges, Krashen's position can easily explain those cases where formal instruction does not seem to affect the developmental route of acquisition. Formal instruction is directed at consciousness-raising , thus affecting only "learning" while the route of acquisition is a reflection of "acquisition." Thus, "learning" produced by instruction is powerless to alter the sequence of development that actually occurs through "acquisition". In other words, formal instruction has a limited role in SLA since the "learned" knowledge that results from grammatical instruction does not help the L2 learner in the "acquisition" of the language.

In addition to providing an explanation for the lack of effects of formal instruction on the route of acquisition, Krashen's non-interface position can also account for the positive effects of instruction on the rate and ultimate success of acquisition since Krashen has claimed that the classroom can speed up the acquisitional process. Moreover, he argues that this is particularly so in the case of adult beginners since these learners, being likely to experience difficulty in obtaining comprehensible input in natural settings, will be more likely to obtain it in the classroom. Thus, the classroom is better equipped to ensure that the right kind of qualitative input needed for "acquisition" is available. As Krashen (1982) points out, classroom are much more likely to ensure that "intake-type" environments occur and therefore, increase the possibilities for "acquisition" to take place. The contribution of the classroom setting, however, is not so much a product of formal instruction as of the provision of comprehensible input as a result of successful communication taking place.

However, Krashen's position cannot either account for studies which have shown positive effects of formal instruction on the route of acquisition or for the results of studies which show detrimental effects of formal instruction on such route. If, as Krashen claims, "acquisition" and "learning" are not related, the learning that formal instruction produces should not affect the process of acquisition in a negative way.

3.2 The interface position

The interface position states that although the learner possesses two kinds of L2 knowledge, these are not entirely separate, and that "seepage" from one knowledge type to the other occurs. It is possible to distinguish a weak and a strong interface position.

3.2.1 The weak interface position.

This position, which was proposed by Seliger (1979), maintains that the conscious rules which L2 learners learn as a result of formal instruction do not describe the internal knowledge that is called upon in natural communication. In other words, it appears that conscious knowledge of a rule is of little use in spontaneous communication. This suggests that the processes responsible for learning about a rule are not those responsible for using it in ordinary conversation.

However, according to Seliger, although conscious knowledge cannot be held responsible for actual language behavior, pedagogical rules do serve a purpose. They act as "acquisition facilitators" by focusing the learners' attention on "those criterial attributes of the real language concept that must be induced" (p. 368). In other words, they help to make the inductive hypothesis testing process more efficient by sensitizing the learners to a specific form which can be fully acquired and more easily used later on. In addition, Seliger also suggests that pedagogical rules can serve as a mnemonics for retrieving features of an internal grammar rule which are rarely used by the learner.

In summary, Seliger argues that the internalization of rules is a different process from that involved in learning pedagogical rules, but he believes that knowledge of a pedagogical rule does affect language learning in two ways: (1) rules make internalization easier at the point when the learner is ready, and (2) they may facilitate the use of features which, although "acquired", are rarely used by the learners. However, Seliger does not propose that "learned" knowledge or pedagogical rules can be converted into "acquired" or internalized knowledge.

The weak interface position can account for the failure to find any positive effect on the route of SLA since Seliger acknowledges that pedagogical rules will not alter the sequence in which L2 rules are naturally "acquired". Thus their effect will be felt only when the learner is "ready" to acquire the rules. On the other hand, the position advanced by Seliger can also account for the positive effects of formal instruction on the rate and ultimate success of SLA since pedagogical rules will be able to enhance the speed of development. Since learners are primed by their knowledge of the pedagogical rule, they take less time to perceive and internalize the salient features of the rule. Thus, the weak interface position accounts for the same findings as the non-interface position does. However, it cannot account for the results of studies which have shown positive or detrimental effects of instruction on the route of acquisition.

3.2.2 The strong interface position.

This position has been advanced by researchers such as Stevic (1980), Bialystok (1979, 1981), McLaughlin (1978) and Sharwood-Smith (1981). Central to the models developed by these researchers is the belief that "learned" or "explicit" knowledge can turn into "acquired" or "implicit" knowledge provided that the learner has the opportunity and motivation to automatize new rules through practice.

Stevic (1980) has developed a model of SLA which he called the Levertov Machine which allows for a flow of knowledge from "learning" to "acquisition" and vice versa. Stevic further suggested that "learning" may relate to secondary memory (usually called Long Term Memory --LTM) which is capable of holding material for longer than two minutes, but from which material is gradually lost with the passage of time unless it is used occasionally. "Acquisition", on the other hand, may relate to tertiary memory which contains material that is never lost, even if it is not used. Stevic, like Krashen, sees "acquisition" as the product of communicative experience, but, unlike Krashen, he argues that "acquisition" can make use of material that has recently been memorized and is part of secondary memory. When this happens, the material contained in secondary memory (i.e., "learned" material) can be transferred into tertiary memory (i.e., "acquired" material). In other words, "learning" becomes "acquisition".

Bialystok (1979) has also developed a model of SLA based on two types of knowledge which can interact. She calls these knowledge types "implicit" and "explicit". The implicit linguistic knowledge source is described as a working system containing unanalyzed information about the language. Both the assimilation of information into this source and the use of that information for directing language production may operate at an intuitive level, thus being particularly suited for use in functional language tasks, such as communication. The explicit linguistic knowledge source, by contrast, contains an analyzed set of features which can be articulated, examined and manipulated. Information is accumulated in this source in a number of different ways, but they all share the feature of being conscious "learning" as opposed to unconscious "acquisition", in Krashen's terms. Furthermore, Bialystok suggests that practice serves as a mechanism by which explicit knowledge turns into implicit knowledge.

McLaughlin (1978) has also developed a model of SLA which falls under the strong interface position. McLaughlin criticizes Krashen's Monitor Model on the basis that its empirical underpinnings are weak since the "learning-acquisition" distinction that Krashen makes rests ultimately on whether the processes involved are conscious or subconscious. Instead of this distinction, McLaughlin proposes another distinction that ties into a general theory of human information processing. This is the distinction between controlled and automatic processing (Shiffrin & Schneider, 1977). Controlled processing requires active attention, so that only a limited number of features can be controlled at a time without interference occurring. Automatic processing, on the other hand, takes place without active control or attention. The important point is that "automatic processes are learned following the earlier use of controlled processes" (p. 319). Thus, SLA entails going from the controlled to the automatic mode of operation.

Sharwood-Smith (1981), building on the work of Bialystok (1981) and McLaughlin (1978), has developed a full interface model to account for the role of formal instruction in SLA. He argues that such instruction can serve as the means by which consciousness-raising can take place, and the resulting explicit knowledge is practised until it is automatized. According to Sharwood-Smith's model, the learner can produce L2 output in three different ways: (1) using just implicit knowledge, (2) using just explicit knowledge, and (3) using both explicit and implicit knowledge. It follows from the model that performance that is planned on the basis of explicit knowledge, which is lacking in automaticity, can provide feedback into implicit knowledge; if this happens enough, i.e., if there is enough practice, the explicit knowledge can become fully automated as part of implicit knowledge. Furthermore, Sharwood-Smith emphasizes that grammar teaching, or "consciousness-raising" --as he calls it-- can take many different forms along two dimensions: elaborateness, i.e., whether the teaching offers only brief descriptions or highly structured explanations, and explicitness, i.e., whether the teaching offers indirect clues or standard pedagogical rules. Therefore, consciousness-raising does not require the learner to be able to verbalize the rules that he has learned. For him, then, the important issue is not whether the grammar of the language should be taught, but in what way it should be taught.

According to Ellis (1986), the strong interface position offers an explanation of why instruction seems to have a facilitative effect on the rate and ultimate success of acquisition; that is, why classroom learners learn faster than their naturalistic counterparts.

This is so because classroom learners have the advantage that they can augment their acquired or implicit knowledge in two ways: (1) directly, by means of the "intake environment" supplied by the classroom, and (2) indirectly, by automatizing explicit knowledge through practice. The strong interface position can also provide an explanation for the positive effects of instruction on the route of acquisition reported in the literature. This is so because, due to the possibility of explicit knowledge turning into implicit knowledge via automatization (or in McLaughlin terms, controlled processing turning into automatic processing), the learner who receives formal instruction that offers practice of specific linguistic forms should manifest these in the acquisition order.

However, this position cannot explain the results of studies which have shown no effects of instruction on the route of acquisition. The seepage from "learning" to "acquisition" and vice versa should allow learning to influence sequence of development.

3.3 The variability position

The variability position, associated with researchers such as Bialystok (1982) and Tarone (1983) postulates that the learner's interlanguage is comprised of both non-systematic and systematic variability. Non-systematic variability refers to both performance variability, which occurs when the language user is unable to perform his competence, and free variability, which occurs when two or more linguistic forms alternate in a non systematic way in the learners' interlanguage. Systematic variability, on the other hand, is determined by both the linguistic and situational contexts of use and is often referred to as contextual variability. Variability as a result of the linguistic context occurs when two different linguistic contexts induce different forms even though in the target language they require the same form. The effects of the linguistic and situational contexts interact to influence the learners' use of interlanguage forms. Thus, linguistic contexts are seen as a continuum ranging from "simple" to "complex" speech, while situational contexts are also viewed as a continuum from "vernacular" to "careful" styles of speech.

According to the variability position, the learner is credited with a number of different styles ranged from the careful to the vernacular. According to Tarone (1983), the vernacular style is basic for a number of reasons. First, because it represents unmonitored capability, it contains fewer instances of either target language or L1 forms than other styles. Therefore, the interlanguage forms manifest in the vernacular style are relatively more stable and invariable. Second, the forms characteristic of the vernacular style seem to reflect universal principles of language acquisition since they are internalized spontaneously. This is so because the learner is endowed with an innate disposition that governs the way he processes input and constructs an interlanguage system. The natural route of acquisition, therefore, is a feature of the vernacular style. Thirdly, the vernacular style is the style of unplanned discourse, which is the kind of communication that is likely to be found in untutored acquisitional sequences.

The variability position also claims that the style that the learner uses will be a function of the amount of attention that he is able to pay to his speech (Tarone, 1983). Thus, the learner's interlanguage varies systematically according to the elicitation task used. For example, when a task elicits a relatively more careful style, that style may contain more target language forms or more prestige native language variants than the relatively more casual style elicited by other tasks. It is, therefore, the nature of the task that determines the kind of language-learner language that will be observed.

The variability position emphasizes the interrelationship between use and acquisition. That is, the kind of language that the learner engages in determines the kind of knowledge that he acquires. Thus, acquiring the necessary linguistic knowledge to perform one kind of activity does not guarantee the ability to perform a different kind of activity. In other words, a learner's performance in one situation is not necessarily indicative of performance under different circumstances. As a result of this, the variability position stresses the importance of matching the learning process with the type of instruction. As Bialystok (1982) notes: "... instruction must consider the specific goals of the learner and attempt to provide the appropriate form of knowledge to achieve these goals. Knowing a form, as we have seen, does not ensure that the form will or can be used in appropriate situations when the circumstances change" (p. 205).

The variability position can easily account for the results of those studies which show no effects of instruction on the route of acquisition since formal instruction, which develops the learner's careful style, will be powerless to affect the route of acquisition since this is the product of the learner's vernacular style. The position, however, cannot account for studies which have shown either positive or detrimental effects of instruction on the route of acquisition.

The variability position can also provide a good explanation for why instruction seems to make a difference on the rate and success of SLA by assuming that the classroom setting offers a richer input than the naturalistic setting, in that it stimulates the growth of a variety of knowledge types or styles. Naturalistic settings, on the other hand, usually provide input which tends only to facilitate the development of the vernacular style, and, thus, to stimulate only unanalyzed knowledge.

3.4 The projection hypothesis

The projection hypothesis has been advanced by researchers such as Gass (1979), Zobl (1983, 1985), Henry (1986) and Eckman, Bell and Nelson (1988) to account for the effects of instruction on the route of acquisition of syntactical structures. This explanation is based on predictions derived from the study of linguistic universals. Two types of approaches have been taken to the study of these universals: the one adopted by Joseph H. Greenberg, which deals with typological universals and the derived from Noam Chomsky's Universal Grammar. What both approaches have in common is that both allow for the existence of implicational universals. These universals relate the presence of one linguistic property to the presence of one or more other properties.

An explanation of the role of instruction on SLA has been advanced which is derived from the predictions made by implicational universals about the acquisition of linguistic features. Zobl (1983) has pointed out that there is a "projection problem" present in the process of second language acquisition, which consists of the fact that the ultimate state of linguistic knowledge attained by the L2 learner about the target language far exceeds the data to which he or she has been exposed in the course of learning. In order to tackle the projection problem, Zobl proposes that the learner possesses a projection device which "... has the capacity to project solutions about properties of the target language on the basis of no, or very little, evidence in the input data." (Zobl, 1983, p. 296). In other words, the projection device enables the acquisition of one rule to trigger the acquisition of other rules that cluster with it. This device would explain why learners are able to acquire languages quickly despite the complexity of the task and the relative poverty of the input that they experience. Researchers working within this framework have investigated whether instruction directed at one specific linguistic feature can trigger acquisition of other features that are implicationally linked to it. Furthermore, they have also investigated whether instruction aimed at marked linguistic features (i.e., features that are more difficult to acquire because they are not so universal) can facilitate the acquisition of unmarked features (i.e., features which are universal, and therefore, easier to learn).

Studies such as those of Gass (1979), Zobl (1985), Eckman, Bell and Nelson (1988) have shown that the relationship between instruction and acquisition is more complex than what is generally assumed. These studies suggest that instruction can result in learners acquiring not only those features that have been taught but also other features that are implicationally associated with them. They also suggest that instruction in marked features can facilitate the acquisition of unmarked features, but not vice versa.

The projection hypothesis can explain possible positive effects of instruction on the route of acquisition. Instruction can supply the learner with plentiful examples of marked features which will serve to trigger the acquisition of unmarked ones. That is, instruction will be able to activate the learners' projection device. Since this explanation is limited to explaining the effects of instruction on the route of acquisition, no implications can be drawn from it to explain the effects of instruction on the rate and ultimate success of SLA.

3.5 The teachability hypothesis

The teachability hypothesis has been advanced by Pienemann (1985, 1987 and elsewhere) as a result of extensive research into both the naturalistic acquisition of L2 German word order rules by Spanish, Italian and Portuguese migrant workers in Germany, and the L2 English acquisition of English by members of ethnic minority communities in Australia. The research conducted by Pienemann and his associates (Pienemann, 1984, 1985; Nicholas, 1985; Johnston, 1987a, 1987b; Pienemann and Johnston, 1987) has aimed at investigating whether formal instruction is powerful enough to alter the sequence of acquisition. This research has been based on a theory of L2 acquisition called the Multidimensional Model (Meisel, Clahsen and Pienemann, 1981). The Model views L2 acquisition as a sequence of ordered developmental stages, which are characterized in terms of the different processing operations involved. The learners' capacity to perform the operations involved in one stage entails their already being able to perform the operations of the immediately preceding stage. Acquisition is viewed as a continuous process in the sense that learners continue to work on the processing operations involved in one stage while beginning to acquire those involved in the next stage. However, the Model claims that it is impossible for the L2 learner to skip over a stage in the acquisitional process.

Four different hypotheses concerning the effects of instruction on SLA have been advanced based on the Multidimensional Model: (1) instruction will not enable learners to acquire any developmental feature out of sequence; (2) instruction will enable learners to acquire a developmental feature providing that the processing operations required to produce those features that precede it in the acquisitional sequence have already been mastered; (3) instruction directed at a developmental feature for which the learner is not ready may interfere with the natural process of acquisition; and (4) instruction will help learners to acquire variational features.

These hypotheses have been tested in a number of studies, like the ones by Pienemann (1984), Westmoreland (1983) and Ellis (1990), which have given support to all four of the hypotheses. As a result of his research results, Pienemann (1985, 1987) has advanced the teachability hypothesis which states: "Instruction can only promote language acquisition if the interlanguage is close to the point when the structure to be taught is acquired in the natural setting (so that sufficient processing requisites are developed" (1985, p. 37). The teachability hypothesis rules out the possibility that instruction can help the learner to alter the natural route of development of developmental features. However, as Pienemann (1987) points out, this negative constraint does not imply that instruction has no effect on acquisition whatsoever. First, instruction can facilitate the second language acquisition processes if it coincides with when the learner is ready. Second, instruction can also improve acquisition with respect to (a) the speed of acquisition, (b) the frequency of rule application and (c) the different contexts in which the rule has to be applied, if, and only if, the interlanguage development of the learner fulfills the requirements for such an influence. Finally, a corollary of the teachability hypothesis is that premature instruction can have detrimental effects on the acquisitional process.

According to Ellis (1990), "the teachability hypothesis is the most powerful account we have of how formal instruction relates to learning" (p. 158). This hypothesis can explain some conflicting results found in studies concerning the effects of instruction on SLA. First, it can account for those studies which have shown no effects of instruction on the route of acquisition since it postulates that instruction cannot alter the natural order of acquisition. However, it cannot account for studies which have shown positive effects of instruction on the route of acquisition. Second, the teachability hypothesis can also account for studies which have shown positive effects on the rate of acquisition since it claims that instruction can improve the speed of acquisition provided that the learner is psycholinguistically ready. Finally, the teachability hypothesis can also account for the detrimental effects found on the route of acquisition.

3.6 Conclusions

Despite the existence of the above-mentioned five positions which have attempted to explain the effect of instruction on SLA, a full understanding of how formal instruction affects the language acquisition process has not yet been reached. Different positions have been able to account for different results of empirical research. Three observations need to be made about this research. First, except for the accuracy studies, the rest of the studies have examined the learners' knowledge gained after the instructional treatment and not their ability to communicate in the second language. The accuracy studies which did measure the communicative ability of the L2 learners showed that formal instruction does not seem to have much effect in spontaneous communication. Second, few studies have investigated the relative length of instructional effects and these studies suggest that the effects of instruction wear off after time. Third, the instruction that has been utilized in the research has worked on manipulating the output of the L2 learners. That is, it has been directed at altering the ways in which the L2 learners produce the second language.

In the next section, a new approach to instruction in a second language will be outlined. In contrast to the type of instruction reviewed above, the new approach will be directed at altering the ways in which the L2 learners process the L2 input. Such an approach will have its roots on an information processing perspective of language acquisition.

4. An input process framework for examining the effects of instruction

Given that researchers acknowledge the important role that input plays in the the acquisition of language (Wagner-Gough & Hatch, 1975; Krashen, 1982; Gass & Madden, 1985, among others) and given that current models of L2 acquisition (VanPatten, 1992; Gass, 1988) have stressed the link that exists between the input that the L2 learners interact with and the acquisition of linguistic knowledge, a fruitful area for investigating the role of instruction on SLA seems to be the examination of the effects of instruction on the L2 learners' processing of input. Such line of investigation has been recently proposed by Terrell (1991) in the form of the binding/access framework.

4.1 Terrell´s binding / access framework

The binding/access framework has been advanced in an attempt to determine the possible contributions of explicit grammar instruction to the acquisition process. Terrell defines explicit grammar instruction (EGI) as "the use of instructional strategies to draw the students' attention to or focus on form and/or structure " (p. 53). Terrell claims that in order to examine the contributions of EGI to SLA, it is necessary to examine the processes and the product involved in acquisition. In other words, it is necessary to examine (1) the psycholinguistic processes utilized in input processing, and (2) how the resulting information is organized and accessed by the learner.

Central to Terrell's model is the claim that language acquisition consists of at least two paired components: comprehension strategies and binding on the one hand, and production strategies and access on the other. Comprehension strategies are defined as "the processing principles used by the learner to make sense of the stream of target language forms in the oral input" (p. 56) . By binding, Terrell refers to the psycholinguistic linking of meaning to a new form in the target language. Production strategies, on the other hand, are defined as those strategies used by beginner learners to put the forms in a linear string to constitute an output. By access, Terrell refers to "the retrieval and production of a form to express some intended meaning in the target language" (p. 56).

Based on a framework that includes both the notions of binding and access, Terrell claims that the acquisition of a form in the target language is defined as establishing a connection between meaning and form. According to this view, the acquisition of forms consists of the positing and storing of pairs of meaning-form relationships and the restrictions placed on the appropriate access of these forms to express an intended meaning. He further claims that what a learner must perceive and store during the acquisition process are not grammatical rules, but individual meaning-form pairs.

According to Terrell, EGI can affect the acquisition process in three different ways: (1) as an "advance organizer", which gives the learner information about target language forms and structures that will aid in processing the input. More specifically, one way in which formal instruction can contribute to the acquisition process is by providing the learner with comprehension strategies that highlight key grammatical elements that the learner should attend to; (2) as a meaning-form focuser, which can affect the acquisition process is by aiding the learner in establishing a meaning-form relationship for morphologically complex forms. By morphologically complex forms, Terrell means meaning-form relations that are not salient and/or essential for understanding the meaning of an utterance. Terrell proposes that formal instruction might help in making these sort of redundant and non-salient grammatical meaning-form relationships salient in the learners' input. One way in which this could be done is by providing meaningful input that contained many instances of the same grammatical meaning-form relationship; and (3) by providing forms for monitoring, which can affect the acquisition process is by providing grammatical information that can be used by the "monitor". This is the only role which Krashen has attributed to instruction. According to Terrell, however, monitoring not only can help the L2 learner to produce more accurate and more complete sentences, but it can also interact with acquisition. This is possible due to the fact that the learner's own output can serve as input to the acquisitional process. This possibility has also been recognized by researchers like Dickerson (1975), Sharwood-Smith (1981) and even Krashen (1987). As a consequence, acquisition of the learners' own output will lead to more grammatical speech if and only if that output is grammatical. If, on the other hand, the learner's output is incorrect it will lead to the acquisition of incorrect forms.

In conclusion, Terrell suggests a new role for grammar instruction: a role that is different from those proposed by other researchers. For Terrell, grammar instruction is regarded as an aid to the learner in the acquisition process since it can make certain grammatical forms more salient, thus helping the learner to establish correct meaning-form connections. Also different is Terrell's claim that in order to investigate the role of instruction in SLA it is necessary to examine the psycholinguistic processes utilized in input processing.

4.2 Input processing theory

Terrell's proposal is closely linked to information processing theory, which has attempted to investigate the psycholinguistic aspects of input and input processing. L2 research under this perspective has been concerned with issues such as how learners process input, what part of that input becomes intake, what the processes involved are, what strategies are used by learners to decode and store linguistic information, what the role of attention and effort is in processing and other related issues (McLaughlin, 1978, 1987; McLaughlin, Rossman & McLeod, 1983; VanPatten, 1985, 1990b).

According to information processing theory, second language learning is viewed as the acquisition of a complex cognitive skill. It is a skill in the sense that various aspects of the task must be practiced and integrated into fluent performance. It is cognitive in the sense that it is thought to involve internal representations that regulate and guide performance.

A byword in contemporary cognitive psychology is the notion that humans are limited-capacity processors (McLaughlin, Rossman & McLeod, 1983). According to such authors, the limitations that exist on how individuals process information can be described along two dimensions. The first dimension relates to the focus of attention. Humans selectively focus their attention when processing incoming input. This selectivity is required by the limited capacity of the human mind to process information. The second dimension relates to information-processing ability. In this respect it has been claimed that the success of the system in dealing with a given input depends on the characteristics of the input and the information-processing ability of the perceiver. From this perspective, therefore, the fact that learners do not acquire all the input that they comprehend is explained by processing limitations.

Related to the concept of attention is the notion of effort. Effort is required by the information processing system in order to attend to and focus on input. If the task that the learner is performing is easy, then little effort is required. As the task assumes complexity, however, more effort is needed. Therefore the amount of processing energy consumed depends on the nature of the task, i.e., certain mental operations require greater processing capacity than others. In this respect, Shiffrin & Schneider (1977) have noted that a given task either requires a relatively large amount of processing capacity, or it proceeds automatically and demands little processing energy. It is also possible that a task that once required a lot of processing energy may become automatic through practice. In their discussion of human information processing, Shiffrin and Schneider view memory as a large connection of nodes that become associated through learning. Thus, there are two ways in which these nodes become activated; one is via automatic processing which involves the activation of certain nodes in memory every time the appropriate input is present. Automatic processing makes little or no demands on attention, is unconscious and can happen at the same as other processes. The second mode of information processing is controlled processing, which is a temporary activation of nodes in a sequence. Controlled processes are tightly capacity-limited and require more time for their activation. They are under attentional control, and as such, they are subject to interference from any other task that demands attention.

According to information processing theory, learning involves the transfer of information to long-term memory and is regulated by controlled processes. Skills become more automatic only after an earlier use of controlled processes. Thus, the development of a complex cognitive skill like language learning involves building up a set of well-learned, automatic procedures so that controlled processes will be freed for new tasks. Given the fact that human learners are limited in their information-processing abilities, only so much attention can be given to the various components of complex tasks. When a component of a given task becomes automatized, attention can be devoted to other components of such a task.

However, as McLaughlin (1987) points out, there is more to learning a complex complex skill than just automatizing sub-skills. The learner also needs to impose organization and to structure the information that has been acquired. Thus, as more learning occurs, internalized, cognitive representations change and are structured. Therefore, learning involves both developing automaticity through practice, and a constant modification of the structures present in the learners.

Several researchers have applied information processing theory to the field of SLA. This line of inquiry has produced research which has focused on the automaticity in both lexical retrieval (Posner and Snyder, 1975) and syntactic processing (Hatch, Polin & Part, 1970). Research has also been conducted in the area of restructuring and the development of the second language (Lightbown, 1985). Another area of investigation has been the process of restructuring in relation to learners'strategies (Færch and Kasper, 1983). Research has also been done in the area of reading in a second language (Cziko, 1980; McLeod and McLaughlin, 1986).

One researcher who has applied the principles of information processing theory to second language acquisition in the area of input processing is VanPatten (1985, 1990b) who has proposed a set of hypotheses regarding input processing in SLA. One of these hypotheses is that learners prefer processing lexical items to grammatical items for semantic information. The strategy of giving precedence to lexical items over morphological markers (also called lexical processing strategy) is born out in L2 literature by research on the acquisition and processing of past tense: Glass and Cadierno (1989), Cadierno and Glass (1990) and Musumeci (1989). These studies provided evidence for a common strategy used by early stage learners of a L2: that of processing lexical items (adverbials) before morphological items (past tense verb morphemes) in tense assignment.

Another set of the hypotheses developed by VanPatten (1990b) are concerned with whether adult L2 learners have access and make use of processing heuristics characteristic of child L1 processing. In this respect, VanPatten has suggested several heuristics for processing that tend to be universal. One of this heuristics is the so-called SVO = agent-action-patient strategy. This strategy refers to the tendency to process NP-V- NP sequences as S-V-O sequences by learners in the early and intermediate stages of L2 development. The above mentioned strategy has been well documented in both L1 and L2 acquisition: Bever (1970), Nam (1975), Morsbach (1981), Xiao-Chun (1981), Fathman and LoCoco (1982), Stevens (1984), VanPatten (1984) and LoCoco (1987).

An input process framework for examining the effects of instruction would imply the investigation of whether formal instruction can be aimed at altering learners´ processing strategies. In other words, a processing instruction would take into account the strategies and mechanisms followed by language learners to process input. This new concept of formal instruction is different from those used in traditional foreign language instruction where the focus of instruction is the manipulation of learners´output.

The relationship of these two types of instruction to learners' developing systems is graphically displayed in Figures 4.1 and 4.2 (VanPatten and Cadierno, 1993a & b).

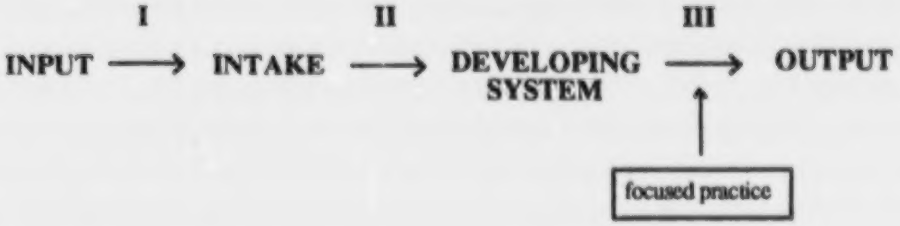
I
II
III
INPUT
INTAKE
DEVELOPING SYSTEM
OUTPUT
focused practice

Figure 4.1. Traditional Instruction in Foreign Language Teaching.

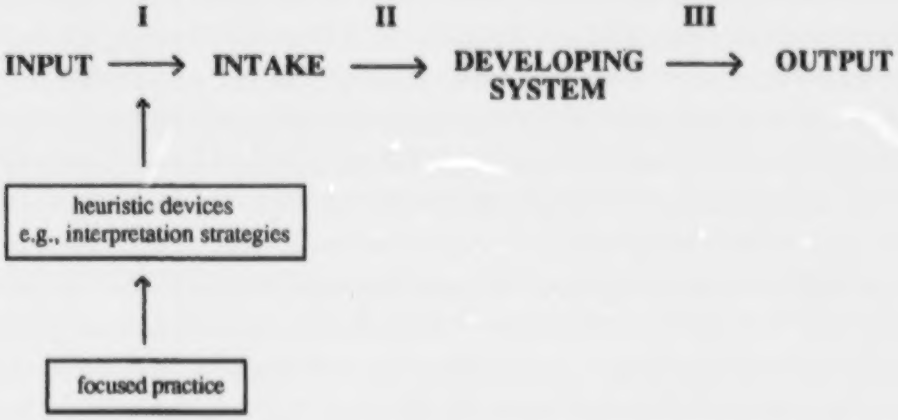
I
II
III
INPUT
INTAKE
DEVELOPING SYSTEM
OUTPUT
heuristic devices
e.g., interpretation strategies
focused practice

Figure 4.2. Processing Instruction in Foreign Language Teaching.

In Figure 1, traditional instruction manipulates learners' output to effect changes in the learners' developing system while in Figure 2, processing instruction aims at changing the way in which input is perceived and processed by language learners. Considering the important role that input processing plays in SLA, and considering that, in both Figures, the arrows go from left to right, it is logical to think that altering how learners process input should have a greater impact on the learners' developing system that altering how they produce the L2.

In summary, instruction within a processing framework would seek to alter the strategies used by language learners when processing input. Therefore, an important implication for instruction in such a framework is that it will focus on input as opposed to traditional instruction which focuses on output. Therefore, the activities in which learners engage will provide them with opportunities to interpret meaning-form relationships in a correct way instead of giving them practice in how to produce the targeted linguistic items. Another implication for processing instruction is that, since its aim is to provide learners with strategies that will aid them to establish correct meaning-form connections, the input that these learners receive will be meaningful input. As a consequence, processing instruction will incorporate meaning-based activities.

4.3 Studies investigating instruction from an input process perspective

Such a processing framework for the investigation of instruction in SLA has been adopted in three studies (VanPatten and Cadierno, 1993 a & b; and Cadierno, in press) which attempted to alter the two processing strategies mentioned above: the lexical processing strategy and the NVN=SVO strategy. Subjects for the three studies consisted of students who were enrolled in second year university level Spanish classes at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (U.S.A.). Given that the aims of the studies were to examine the effects of instruction on output vs. instruction on input processing, two types of instruction were compared: one was traditional grammar explanation and oral practice; the other was directed at focusing subjects'attention on input. A group of subjects who received no instruction was also added as a control to the design. A pretest / post-test procedure (with immediate as well as delayed post-tests) was used as the means of assessing the impact of instruction. All tests consisted of both interpretation and production tasks.

The results of the studies were the following: for the interpretation task, the processing group's scores were significantly higher than those of the other two groups, and no significant difference between traditional and no instruction was found. For the production task, the traditional and the processing groups' scores were significantly higher that those of no instruction group but no significant difference between traditional and processing instruction was found. These results suggest that processing and traditional instruction did not impact the same way on the learner. More specifically, processing instruction seemed to be superior than traditional instruction since it both had an impact on how subjects processed input and on what the subjects could access for production. Traditional instruction, on the other hand, had a significant effect on what the subjects could access for production, but seemed to have little impact on how the subjects processed input. These are interesting results given that processing instruction only focused on comprehension and did not focus on production at all.

These findings can be explained in the light of a processing framework of SLA. Given that current models of SLA like those of VanPatten (1992) and Gass (1988) have emphasized the important role that input processing (i.e., the conversion of input to intake) plays in making data available to the learner's developing system and, ultimately, in language acquisition, it was logical to predict that instruction which would aim at altering the ways in which input is perceived and processed by the learner should have a greater impact on the learner's developing system than instruction which would manipulate the learner's output. The findings of the above-mentioned investigations support this prediction, thus suggesting that processing instruction and traditional instruction do not aid the second language learner in the same way. Specifically, input-oriented processing instruction seems to have provided learners with knowledge available for both comprehension and production while output-oriented traditional instruction seems to have provided knowledge available only for production (see for example, Krashen, 1982 and Schwartz, 1993 for discussion of different kinds of knowledge systems).

The results obtained from these investigations on the impact of instruction on input processing have both theoretical and pedagogical implications. With respect to the theoretical implications, they make a contribution to on-going discussion about the effects of formal instruction on SLA since they suggest another way to investigate such effects. In other words, while the debate about the role of formal instruction in SLA has tended to view instruction as the explanation and subsequent practice of grammatical forms, these investigations have viewed grammar teaching as the explicit intervention in the processes and strategies used by learners during input processing. By adopting this perspective, the reported studies have shown that one way in which instruction affects second language acquisition is by altering the strategies used by learners in processing input. This new approach to formal instruction is in accordance with several claims made in the literature according to which instruction makes input salient to the L2 learners (Sharwood-Smith, 1981; VanPatten 1986; Ellis, 1990). In this respect, Schmidt (1990) has claimed that adult language learning requires attention to form for acquisition to take place. Gass (1991) has further claimed that grammar instruction can be considered as an aid to the learner by focusing his attention on the aspects of his interlanguage grammar which needs modification. Furthermore, several empirical studies, like that of Hulstijn (1989) have researched the role of explicit attention to form, and have concluded that an explicit focus on linguistic form facilitates learning. The role of explicit grammar instruction in a processing framework also attempts to bring the learner's attention to linguistic forms that are either processed incorrectly or left unattended. That is, grammar instruction is considered here as an aid in redirecting learners' processing of input in order to provide better intake to their developing systems.

The results of the studies also give evidence of the important role that input processing plays in second language acquisition. Since instruction on processing input has been shown to have a definite impact on the learners' developing system, the studies provide further support for current models of L2 acquisition that link input processing and the developing system (VanPatten, 1992; Gass, 1988).

With respect to the pedagogical implications, the results of the studies suggest that instead of discussing whether formal instruction "per se" makes a difference in SLA, it would be more appropriate to consider what type of formal instruction would be most effective in SLA. In other words, the question that should be addressed is not so much whether grammar should be taught in foreign language classrooms, but how it should be taught. In this respect, the investigations suggest that instruction considered as direct intervention on learners' strategies in input processing seems to have a greater impact on the learners' developing system than traditional grammar teaching involving explanation and subsequent practice of grammatical forms. In other words, instruction seems to be more beneficial when it is directed at how learners perceive and process input than when instruction is focused on having learners practice the language via output.

Moreover, it should be noted that an input-oriented approach to grammar instruction such as the processing approach presented here is more in accordance with input-based communicative approaches to language teaching such as the Natural Approach, Total Physical Response, and content-based instruction than are traditional output-based approaches.

5. Conclusions

The aim of this paper has been twofold: to review and analyze current research into the role of instruction in SLA and theoretical frameworks advanced to explain such role, and to present a new framework, based on input processing theory, which has recently been forwarded in the literature.

Needless to say, more research is needed that further investigates the impact of processing instruction in SLA. In order to conduct such research, however, it is first necessary to investigate further strategies and heuristics used by language learners during input processing. Future research on the impact of instruction on input processing in SLA should aim at investigating whether instruction in processing input transfers to production under controlled conditions. Long-terms effects of instruction should be re-examined as well. Finally, another avenue of research would be to investigate the the impact of processing instruction on other linguistic items to see whether processing instruction has a differential effect depending on the type of linguistic item.

To conclude, it is important to stress the fact that the use of an input-based approach to grammar instruction does not involve the elimination of output practice in foreign language teaching. Classroom foreign language learning involves many different kinds of learning-teaching behaviors, affected by the developmental stages of learners in L2 acquisition and individual learning differences, among others. Therefore, learners also need to get output practice so that their abilities in accessing their developing system for fluent production can be developed. In other words, production-based activities have a place in FL classrooms, and should follow instruction that focuses on input. That is, explicit instruction should involve a move from an input- to an output-based approach, thus seeking first to make changes in the developing system, and later to provide opportunities for developing productive abilities.

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Can Writing Be Taught?

Stuart Greene
Department of English
University of Wisconsin—Madison

The assumption that writing is an art that can be learned but not taught persists in American popular culture and in classrooms across the country. In this presentation, I will draw out these images, first calling attention to the ways in which two recent films treat the teaching of writing and then using case examples from two studies I have conducted to challenge this assumption. These two studies show how students interpret writing assignments in different disciplines, including English literature, biology, history, and theater. As well, these studies underscore the problems students face as they try to understand how to complete the tasks they are given. Although we may assume that our expectations are clear, students make sense of and give meaning to what we ask based on their prior knowledge of both schooling and culture. Thus, students try to balance their own goals for writing in school with their perception of what our purposes are. In discussing the practical implications of my research, I want to urge us all to 1) shift our angle of vision from what we do as teachers to students' process of learning and 2) make explicit what we expect students to accomplish in the writing we assign in any discipline or field.

I begin my paper, "Can Writing Be Taught?" with some recent images of teaching that have appeared in two popular American films: *A River Runs through It* and *Higher Learning*. [1]These images, which I will describe in some detail, advance a set of assumptions about both teaching and learning that not only persist in American popular culture, but inform the practices of education observed in classrooms across the curriculum. Teachers in these films (and in our classrooms) have a great deal of faith that the acquisition of writing ability can occur through repetition and practice, through immersion in a literate environment, or through sheer force, each taking the place of explicit instruction. The assumptions underlying such practices appear to suggest that writing can be learned, but it cannot be taught and that writing is a generalizable skill that people can acquire in one setting and transfer to others.

In what follows, I want to challenge us to consider the extent to which writing can be taught in different disciplines by focusing on student learning and the difficulties students have in determining how to go about completing the work that is expected of them in school.[2] The issue here is that students don't need to learn how to use language, but how to use a particular variety of language—the language of written, academic discourse—and a particular variety of language use—writing itself (Bartholomae, 1980, p. 304).

After first examining the images from these two films, I will provide some case examples from two studies I have conducted to show how students interpret different writing assignments. These examples will provide a way to look closely at the thinking that motivates students' approaches to writing and illustrate the problems students face as they try to understand how to complete the tasks they are given. In particular, these two studies show how students interpret writing assignments in such disciplines as sociology, English literature, biology, history, and theater. Of interest are both points of difference and convergence between their interpretations of these assignments, or tasks, and their instructor's.

Although we may design writing assignments we believe will foster the learning we value, what we often find is that the learning strategies that once served our students so well at home or in their communities may seem less successful in the context of school (Heath, 1986). In fact, the strategies they have learned can even be counterproductive (cf. Neuman & Roskos, 1994). They may be quite capable of fulfilling the tasks we give them, but many of our students are unaware of the ways in which the conventions they learned in one context may differ from those of academic discourse. For instance, in spoken language, students are free to assert opinions without displaying evidence or to recount experiences without explaining what they mean. But in school, as Shaughnessy (1976) has observed, we reward students' ability to sustain a play of mind upon ideas—teasing out contradictions and the ambiguities of statements. Therefore, when we admonish our students to "be specific," we need to be aware that the conditions for specificity may not be present for them. Similarly, the question, "What's your point?" may be difficult to answer because students have not developed certain habits of mind that would enable them to develop a sense of the direction they want to take. As well, each discipline they study embodies distinct ways of constructing knowledge that are merely implicit in the different genres (e.g., a historical account or literary analysis) of writing disseminated in these disciplines and in the very content that we impart to students. Therefore, it should not be surprising to us that the tasks that are so familiar to us may be so formidable to our students as to discourage them as travelers in a foreign land are discouraged.

In essence, I want to argue that we need to become students of different disciplines and of our students themselves in order to perceive the challenges they face (cf. Shaughnessy, 1976). Toward this end, I will offer some concrete suggestions for research and teaching.

Prevailing Images of Teaching in American Popular Culture

I want to circle back now and think about the problem I am posing—whether or not writing can be taught—in the context of the two films I mentioned a few moments ago. The first film, *A River Runs through It*, is based on Norman Mclean's autobiographical work of the same title that was published about twenty years ago. At the outset of the film, we are given a portrait of Norman Maclean's relationship to his father, a Presbyterian minister and a fly fisherman. A moral teacher, he explains to Norman and his brother that "Man's chief end is to glorify God, and to enjoy Him forever," although his father probably spent as many hours giving them instruction in fly fishing as he did in all other spiritual matters. And fly fishing for McLean's father was definitely a spiritual matter. He also considered fly fishing an art that could be learned and taught, an art "performed on a four-count rhythm between ten and two o'clock." Maclean, the narrator in the film, goes on to tell us that he much preferred learning how to fish by simply "going out and catching a few, omitting entirely anything difficult or technical in the way of preparation that would take away from the fun." In this remark, we see a fundamental tension between two approaches to teaching and learning the art of fly fishing. On the one hand, Maclean's father tries to make explicit the kind of technical expertise that is needed to catch a fish. For him, such knowledge is important, because to fish gracefully is to recapture the power, grace, and beauty of God. This is serious business, this idea of explicit teaching, although it may not be much fun. On the other hand, the young Maclean introduces the idea of immersion as a form of learning to fish. His approach is motivated by a different kind of faith: that one will simply acquire expertise through practice. Perhaps this will be the case for some students who can learn through intuition, but what about others?

What interests me is that when writing becomes the focus of instruction, Maclean's father seems to adopt the notion of immersion in favor of explicit teaching. In the film, we see the young author descend the stairs very tentatively as he brings something he has written to his father, who sits quietly composing a sermon in his office. The minister takes the paper from Norman, looks at it sternly, and then begins to circle some words and and cross out others. When he is finished marking up his son's paper, he looks up and simply says, "Half as long." A similar scene is repeated two more times when, finally, his father tells him that it's "good" and that he can now "throw it away." What are we to make of this image of the beginning writer and his father? What constitutes good writing? What does this stern and seemingly inflexible man expect from his son and why? And once Maclean's father acknowledges the success of this piece of writing, will the son know better about what to do the next time to produce an effective essay?

It seems to me that in this instance, writing is conceived of as an art that can be learned, but not necessarily taught as the rhythms of fly fishing might be. If so, this introduces a real conundrum for both a student and the teacher of writing. The teacher of writing, and I would suggest that we are all teachers of writing, is left with a sense that all he or she can do is to create opportunities in which learning *might* occur. But what happens when students do not rise to the occasion? What do we do? Similarly, students may be left wondering about how they can translate the advice teachers offer—for example, in the form of detailed written comments—into actions they can take in different situations.

This notion that writing is an art that can be learned but not taught directly comes across in John Singleton's new film, *Higher Learning*. The events that occur on what we come to know as Columbus University teach us all something about the assumptions different ethnic and racial groups have about one another and the extent to which these assumptions are simply uninformed. That people rarely try to understand one another leads to much violence and, ultimately, to the death of several students. The film is also about the role that one teacher plays in the lives of his students and his attempts to help them in their struggle to come to terms with their own ideas about the issues he raises in his political science class. At the beginning of the term, he tells his students—mostly freshmen—that he expects them to take a stand in what they write—that he doesn't want them to simply summarize the positions that other writers have taken. In this seemingly teacher-centered class, however, the students simply listen. They aren't really invited to contribute to the well-prepared lecture that their teacher delivers. So perhaps we shouldn't be surprised if his students are not quite sure what he means when he demands that they advance their own ideas in their essays. He sets up expectations, but seems reluctant to talk explicitly about what he wants or how his students might manage the task he has given them. Perhaps the force of his words will motivate these students to take a stand. This is his faith.

When a young woman, Kirsten, appears at his office door, we see a much more gentle, nurturing professor who invites his student to sit down to talk about her paper. She is surprised that she didn't do very well because she explains that she has worked very hard on this paper. As much as her professor agrees that she has analyzed the reading very effectively, he reiterates the point he made in class. I want to see what you think, he tells her. And then he provides a brief example of what he has in mind. As he speaks, she interrupts, pulling out her notebook from a backpack to jot down what he says. That's a great idea, she remarks, unaware of her professor's impatience. That's my idea, he explains; you need to find your own topic. But there is little sense from observing this meeting between teacher and student that she understands what this means or how she will do it. For that matter, it is not altogether clear that he is aware of how difficult it can be for students to establish a position from which they might speak with authority, especially those who have lived in silence in our classrooms.

A similar scene occurs later on between the main character of the film, Malik, and this same professor. Again, the scene is the professor's office, which provides students with a relatively safe haven to talk about ideas that they don't have the opportunity to discuss in class. Assuming the role of a mentor, he explains to Malik that, no, what you have written isn't what I want. You need to take a stand. Like Kirsten, Malik leaves—disappointed and uncertain about what he should do. During the course of the film, Malik begins to read about Black history and politics, and he talks with others about his ideas, although the source of Malik's motivation is not clear. At the end of *Higher Learning*, Malik returns to his professor with another draft of the essay. On this occasion, the professor reads and offers a smile, as if to say, yes, you've got it. This is a scene of hope in an otherwise violent and tragic story, one that calls attention to the importance of a teacher who is willing to reach out to his students with support and guidance in a kind of intellectual apprenticeship. In turn, we see some tentative recognition that an engagement with ideas could foster competence and lead his students into the world. But this learning was, of course, very new and quite fragile. What is more, we are never quite sure how Malik "got it."

Together, these two films reflect models of instruction and student-teacher interaction that we see everyday in American colleges and universities. And what I want to urge us all to do is to reconsider our assumptions about the relationship between our instructional approaches and the kind of learning we believe our approaches foster. In other words, as I suggested earlier, I would like us to adjust our angle of vision in order to focus upon our students. My seventeen years of teaching tell me that many students are energetic and thoughtful in their attempts to fulfill their own goals and purposes as writers, on the one hand, and to meet our expectations, on the other. The problem that preoccupies me, however, is that our students don't always know what these expectations are, even in our efforts to design seemingly clear and cogent assignments. Unfortunately, our expectations are often merely tacit, even when we think we have articulated them.

A legacy of schooling and culture leave many students, like those we see in *Higher Learning,* unsure about what it means to integrate or even foreground their own ideas with the authorities they are assigned to read. In fact, many of our students' experiences with writing have been restricted to representing other people's ideas in summaries and reports, so that they have not had occasions to use writing as a way to explore their own ideas and to develop arguments through reading and writing. Moreover, in traditional classrooms, when there is discussion, such talk is often structured around a teacher's question, a student's response, and a teacher's evaluation (cf. Hull, Rose, Fraser, & Castellano, 1991; Mehan, 1979; Nystrand & Gamoran, 1991). Such a traditional instructional sequence attempts to foster students' acquisition of given information; knowledge is not constructed, but received, leaving students to play a passive role in learning. Thus, students must often negotiate seemingly conflicting discourses. In many classes they are asked to recite given information, while in other settings they are invited to inquire into unresolved issues to advance their own ideas.

The key point I want to make here is that it is important to recognize that students make sense of and give meaning to academic work through the lens of years of prior experiences of reading and writing in and out of school. As we see in *Higher Learning,* to invite students to take a position is one thing, but for students to understand what this means is quite another. We should not be surprised to hear them ask with some confusion in the safety of the hallways and dorm rooms: "They asked me to write what?"

Strangers in Strange Lands

Let me illustrate the dilemma that many students face, this time focusing on the research I have been doing for the past eight years. In talking about my work, I want to complicate our understanding of what it means to read and write in a university and to think about the necessity of making our expectations as clear as possible, so that we can foster the kind of learning that we value.

A four-year study of one student writing across the disciplines

For four years, I met with Laura, a student at my university who, at twenty-five, had returned to college after working as an architectural drafter. I collected all of her writing during these four years and interviewed her at least once a semester during this period. I learned that Laura received very little support, psychological or financial, from her parents. Therefore, as she explained in a literacy autobiography she wrote in her freshman composition class, she "had to go it alone." Not unlike many college freshmen, she was forced to negotiate the vast academic landscape without a guidebook, often unsure about how to write a term paper or an essay exam (cf. Rose, 1989). Her initial experience in a sociology class was devastating. At the bottom of her first essay exam, her professor remarked that "this is not an essay" and that she should go to the writing lab. This experience seemed to reinforce her sense that perhaps she did not belong. As it was, she did feel out of place among traditional college students, aware that she had been labeled by the university as a non-traditional student because of her age, but also because she had been tracked in high school into technically oriented classes. Someone had made the decision that Laura would not be college-bound.

What I found as Laura's instructor in freshman composition was that she was drowning in a sea of conventions that she did not understand and that she was simply puzzled by the very language her professors used to describe the nature of academic work. In that first essay exam in an introductory sociology class, Laura was asked to present an argument for either affirmative action policies or policies that attempt to help the "truly disadvantaged," regardless of race. This exam represented the culmination of about five weeks of reading and lectures that focused on issues related to affirmative action and public policy, so presumably the students were prepared for such a question. But imagine the effect that the words of this exam question might have had on a freshman, who has not been fully acculturated into the ways of thinking in sociology. The professor wrote:

> In your essay, you should first describe the relative standing of blacks and whites on important socioeconomic indicators, which is the basis for such policy proposals. Then present the evidence and interpretation of that evidence that best supports the policy you've chosen. Finally discuss what you think is the key weakness of your position. Can you modify the position to take into account the criticism? (Note: The aim here is to have you think through the way policy arguments rely upon social-scientific evidence and interpretation.)

While teachers at the college level may have every reason to expect that students like Laura will know what an essay is—after all, we expect high schools to insure that they have this knowledge—consider what she is asked to do: 1) to take a stand, thinking through the way policy arguments rely on social scientific evidence and interpretation; and 2) to examine both the strengths and weaknesses of her own position, perhaps realigning her argument to account for others' criticisms. In short, she is expected to think and write like a sociologist, one who is aware of what constitutes an appropriate source of evidence to support an argument and who comprehends different socioeconomic indicators.

The terms of the assignment are familiar to some, but to argue and to use evidence represent a set of conventions in a specific discipline that high schools cannot necessarily be expected to teach and that students cannot be expected to know. After all, any discipline is comprised of different ways of thinking and using language. In the end, we should not be surprised that Laura was at a loss for words in writing her essay or that her professor was pretty disappointed. They each had different conceptions of what it means to write in school, but there really wasn't any opportunity to share these different ideas in class discussion. Laura, like others, had to take some risks in committing herself to taking the approach she did in responding to this prompt to write about affirmative action. While it is true that lots of students may have understood what this writing task required and did well, I am urging us to think about such students as Laura, Malik, and Kirsten who do not readily know what it means to read and write in a university.

Laura did seek help at the university's writing lab and eventually learned what an appropriate response to this difficult question about public policy entailed, and she did well in this course. However, to think like a social scientist is different than thinking like a historian or literary critic or, for that matter, writing like a scientist. And yet, through her four years at the university, Laura moved in and out of different classrooms, immersed in a culture that often provided some conflicting views of what it means to read and write in school. The tasks kept shifting and the assumptions underlying the assignments she was given kept changing.

The exam question in sociology seems to represent one kind of thinking that university professors value—that is, the ability to interpret what others have said, formulate a well-thought out position, and to think critically about the strengths and weaknesses of that position. This kind of abstract, critical thinking also characterized what Laura was expected to do in a theater class. In this sophomore-level class, she was asked to imagine that she was the director of a play, *Trifles* . Given her role as director, "what kind of theater space would you want to put it in? Describe the space in detail." As well, she was asked to reflect upon and explain the choices she made, considering how these choices "might influence the reception of the play."

But other instructors demanded close reading of single sources of information. Her TA in literature asked, "What does Georgiana mean by saying that Aylmer has 'done nobly' in Hawthorne's 'The Birthmark?'" "Has he in fact done nobly?" To answer this question, she must support her answer with evidence from the story, which represents a marked departure from the invitation to include her own ideas from both the reading and her experience in other classes. In her junior-level history course, she was asked to evaluate a statement by Polenberg: '[In the United States] there was no physical destruction, no redrawing of territorial lines, no change in the outward structure of government [after WW II]. Yet in more subtle ways the war exerted a profound impact upon the American people and their political, social, and economic institutions." Motivated by her prior experiences, Laura not only provided a close analysis of this statement in the context of the reading she was given in class, but she also brought in outside sources to support her opinion. Interestingly, her professor remarked in his written comments that he only wanted her to examine the text he had given the class to read. Laura was, of course, puzzled by his comment.

After all, she had begun to think and act independently as many of her teachers wanted her to, but now she was actually criticized for taking what, for some, was real initiative.

What I learned through my study of these different assignments was that Laura couldn't simply rely on her new-found knowledge about what it meant to write like a social scientist; instead, she had to read and interpret new situations in order to figure out what was expected in drama, literary analysis, and history. Without the benefit of explicit instruction in how to write different papers, she relied on the prompts of a given assignment, the ways in which a given professor engaged his students in classroom talk, the comments she received on her papers, and the level of success she had achieved in the classes she took across the curriculum during previous semesters. The voices of past teachers' admonitions about how to write were as powerful as the voices of the teachers she heard in the present. Thus, there was a certain logic that motivated her search for additional sources in writing her history paper, but, as it turned out, the choice she made to do so was inappropriate in the context in which she wrote.

I also learned from the following example that the more ambiguous or open-ended an assignment is, the more risks students must take in writing. This is because students will be uncertain about what we want. Yet, many students are simply unwilling to take risks because of the evaluative climate of school. Moreover, when assignments are so open-ended, students may be unsure about what to do, which is what happened when Laura read the following assignment in a sophomore-level class in botany:

> The dangers of a political agenda in biological science: creation science, a contradiction in terms. Don't make the mistake of merely ridiculing the creation scientists. You

> must explicitly state the philosophical underpinnings of modern biological science (i.e., what is it about modern biology that makes it a science) and show how they compare with those of the creation scientists. Include some concrete examples.

At the same time, the answer is not necessarily to design more structured prompts, if, in fact, we want students to think critically about the issues we raise in class. Too much structure will eliminate risk altogether and, perhaps, the very learning we value. We can try to strike a balance between ambiguity and risk, allowing students to have some latitude in their writing, but not so much freedom that they become paralyzed. But even more important, we can also reveal to students the hidden assumptions we have about writing in a particular area of study, demystifying for them the language we use to think about the world, as well as the forms and conventions that we use in writing (e.g., such as topic sentences, transitions, claims, evidence.) Thus, it is useful to think about conventions in terms of what ideas matter, how to frame an argument, and what readers expect and need. However, as Flower (1994) has pointed out, "To be literate in one practice calls for special knowledge, but this knowledge does not predict or guarantee writers' ability to carry out other practices" (p. 22).

Writing Reports and Problems-Based Essays in the Discipline of History[3]

To understand further those factors that influence student learning, I want to turn to a study I conducted in a junior-level history course at a private university in the eastern United States. I will then offer some concrete suggestions about how we might address the problems I have raised.

The purpose of this study was to examine the kinds of knowledge that both students and historians draw upon in writing reports and problem-based essays. Half the class (seven students) was asked to write a report. This entailed discussing issues surrounding the European Recovery Program (ERP) based on six different sources of information. Students received the following instructions:

> Recently, historians have begun to review the effects of the European Recovery Program (ERP), also known as the Marshall Plan, a program that was instituted a little more than forty years ago. Historians of the plan have pointed out that American decision-makers had a number of important political, economic, and strategic goals in mind when they conceived of the ERP, but faced opposition both here and in Europe, which affected planning and implementing the program. Write a paper that presents your understanding of issues surrounding the ERP.

The other half of the class was given a problem-based task (eight students). This assignment invited them to assume the role of policy-makers in considering these issues:

> Recently, historians have begun to review the effects of the European Recovery Program (ERP), also known as the Marshall Plan, a program that was instituted a little more than forty years ago. Historians of the plan have pointed out that American decision-makers had a number of important political, economic, and strategic goals in mind when they conceived of the ERP, but faced opposition both here at home and in Europe, which affected planning and implementing the program. Write a paper in which you consider issues surrounding the ERP and, based on your

> understanding of the sources you have been given, propose conditions or options that planners might have attached to the ERP to insure that it would be more responsive to both European and American interests.

Three historians, including the instructor, were also asked to interpret how they would go about completing both of these assignments. These two tasks imply two very different notions of historical writing: to write a report that interprets and integrates information from different sources, on the one hand, and, on the other, to define a problem, speculate about alternative actions, and reformulate information in supporting a point of view. This distinction is important because historians appear to value both the writing of reports and problem-based essays as academic tasks. Both can help students acquire new knowledge and think critically about historical issues.

The theme of the course in which I conducted this research focused in part on the social and political structures of France, Germany, and Britain in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The fifteen students who participated in the study also examined national differences in European countries and national differences in periods of pan-European crisis. The Second World War was one of those experiences and served as a backdrop for the writing tasks that students completed for this study. Though the instructor did not discuss how to write a report or solve a problem in history, he talked directly about writing historical arguments, making clear the criteria historians use in judging the adequacy of an argument. He emphasized: a) the importance of "marshaling" evidence, b) formulating an argument that is directed toward the evidence, and c) looking critically at the nature of the sources that historians use in constructing an argument, that is, what is said and what is overlooked.

After each of the students had received one of the two assignments, each was asked to talk aloud into a tape recorder, commenting and thinking aloud about how they might perform the task they were given. The instructor of the course did this as well. To understand more fully those factors that might influence their interpretations of the task, I also interviewed them. I was particularly interested in whether they believed they could include their own ideas. The transcripts of these comments are the source of the examples I want to share with you.

I will focus only on the report task for the sake of time, but I did want to show you the difference between the language of these two assignments and the kinds of thinking that each required. The first two excerpts provide two very different interpretations of the report task that Professor Carley and his student, John, responded to:

Professor Carley: We're not asked to include our own ideas . . . we're asked to compare, however, and therefore asked to conceptualize because you have to compare in terms of something. And the way in which they formulate what is to be compared will reflect some of their own ideas. That's to say their own language for discussing these things.

John: Write about what the plan was . . . the goals of Marshall aid . . . motives for Marshall aid as a major section and political, strategic, economic as subsections . . . opposition to the plan with specific

> examples. Write a thesis that can cover everything and get specifics from the texts.

What appears to distinguish the ways in which they interpret this task is the knowledge about writing that John and his professor bring to bear on composing a report. Professor Carley focuses on two primary concerns that seem to reflect his role as a practicing historian: to compare how different authors have conceptualized the recovery program and to orchestrate this discussion of issues from a unique vantage point, one that would enable him to contribute his "own ideas" to an ongoing intellectual conversation. John, however, casts his understanding of the writing task in terms that reflect his role as a student. In fact, he appropriates the familiar language of what he believes constitutes effective writing in school: to demonstrate that he has read the sources, he needs to discuss "what the plan was," using "examples" and writing a "thesis that can cover everything." His interpretation of how to write a report and the criteria he uses to develop a writing plan are certainly reasonable, particularly when we consider that the legacy of schooling that seems to inform his initial impressions. Again, such a legacy typically values the recitation of received information over the purposeful use of one's knowledge. By emphasizing differences here, I call attention to the fact that Professor Carley's interpretation reveals a set of options for writing a report that may not have been a part of John's repertoire for writing about history.

In contrast to his professor, John was really not interested in formulating an opinion. In fact, he felt that he could not take a very strong view. He observed that, "I didn't really try to say this is my view and try to defend it. I didn't try to push anything. I didn't see a strong view I could take." Still, his reluctance to take a stance on the issues did not prevent John from pursuing his own goals in writing a report:

"Maybe the opposition was in the assignment, but I focused on why the ERP was starting—I felt that was more important."

Three other students who participated in this study suggested that it was possible to include their "own opinions" or their "own understanding," but one student chose not to, typifying in her comments the attitude these others had adopted about writing in school: "It's much more difficult when you say that this is your opinion. I'd want to be right. I think you leave yourself open for more, especially when [the instructor] is reading your paper. You've got to know what you're talking about." While the instructor valued independence in thought and action in class discussions, this student weighed the costs and benefits of presenting her opinion. The more advantageous move, for her, was to rely on sources, not to risk stating an opinion within the evaluative climate of the classroom. When she wrote her essay, she cited a single author throughout her essay, thus subordinating ideas from prior knowledge and experience to the authority of a published account of the recovery program. The other students writing reports did not defer in this way, but such a comment calls attention to the way in which the notion of audience influences how students construe a given task. In her view, her writing was sanctioned by the teacher, the sole audience of her paper.

A striking contrast to this student was a student who constructed an image of the teacher as someone who valued the ideas of students and appreciated students' willingness to go beyond the task. This was consistent with her prior experiences in school. She was a member of the debate club in high school and had often been rewarded for her ability to raise questions and challenge accepted ideas. With such an image in mind, she decided that she "couldn't go straight from the assignment." She asserted that she had to give her own opinion. It was more important than simply repeating what was in the texts. "I didn't think it would be as helpful to my reader to simply recite. . . . It was more important to express what I felt was important."

Although her essay was provocative, suggesting that the ERP was not a sound investment for the U.S., she cited only two sources in making her argument, relying, instead, on her own ideas about the limitations of this foreign policy initiative. Thus at issue is whether personal expression is sufficient in the context of writing a report for a history class where students were expected to demonstrate their understanding of a shared body of knowledge in developing an intellectual project of their own. This latter point is made quite clear in the ways that the instructor of the course interpreted what it means to write a report in history.

To sum up, most of the students writing reports envisioned their task as one that required them to rely on the sources; however, they did not appear to see the need to link these issues in ways that their professor did or to establish an argument justifying their decisions to focus on a given set of issues. Perhaps the most striking difference was in how each interpreted the task given their sense of audience. Students saw their audience as the teacher, someone who would evaluate their work. Though the professor in the course did not make explicit references to a reader or audience, he saw the audience as the academic community of historians. He seemed to construct a representation of the task that was consistent with the discipline's expectations that he would take a position. (This also seemed to be the case with two other historians who participated in the study.)

Implications for Research and Teaching

One implication of this research is that when we examine students' processes of composing—the thinking that often remains hidden behind the texts they produce—we find that a better predictor of what students will do than the task we give is the task they give themselves (Flower, 1994; Greene, 1995 and 1994b). Although we may assume that a writer's interpretation is a stable, integrated image of a task, writers can change goals and strategies throughout the process of composing because of their conflicting sense of whom they are writing for: the teacher, an interested reader, one's self, one's peers and the like.

By examining students' assumptions about writing, we can begin to develop practices that build upon their knowledge and extend their emerging abilities to use language in different contexts. Specifically, we can try to understand how students' conceptualizations of task influence the logic that motivates their decisions as writers and the different combinations of factors that shape the writing process. Although I have not addressed how students' cultural backgrounds affect their choices in writing—for example, to include their own ideas—it is important for us to explore how rules of interaction in a particular culture and how traditions governing appropriate expression of feelings or beliefs have an impact on how students write (Valdes, 1992). For example, how does a student's perception of his or her intended reader (e.g., teacher, other students, self) and the cultural traditions governing interactions with such individuals influence the manner in which the student develops an argument. If the primary reader is assumed to be the teacher, then how will students from different cultural backgrounds write for such a reader? Do they limit how they argue or what they explain because the teacher is the sole audience? Do they consider different sorts of writing (e.g., persuasion) to be inappropriate for addressing an instructor?

Given the significance of how students interpret a writing task, it seems important that we help writers in different fields of study determine whether it might be appropriate to include their own ideas and to reflect upon why it might be appropriate to do so in a particular situation. In turn, we can begin to influence the task they give themselves. Specifically, when we give students a writing assignment, we need to offer guidance throughout the entire process of composing, first asking students how they interpret a task and then *discussing, in class, possible options for writing.* These options include determining how to make and support a claim. In this case, it may have been instructive for the students studying the European Recovery Program (ERP) to have listened to their professor's or other experts' interpretation of the task in order to see that there are different and equally legitimate ways to complete the same writing assignment. We can also *analyze drafts of students' essays* in class by examining how a writer interpreted the task, *discussing the consequences of taking such an approach, and considering alternatives.* In this way, the student who wrote about the ERP as an investment bank and did not use the sources she was given could have understood early on in the process that her approach may have been creative, but did not fit the situation. As a consequence, she would have had the opportunity to consider the argument she wanted to make in keeping with the forms and conventions of writing a historical account.

Finally, we can provide opportunities for students to share their interpretations of writing tasks and to collaborate with other students in peer groups. Collaboration can promote a play of differences, enabling students to hear a range of options beyond the confines of their own experiences and explore the full range of choices open to them. Such an approach also enables students to draw upon their own expertise in ways that they may not be willing to in classes dominated by teacher talk. As a consequence, when it comes time to write their essays, students may be more apt to include their own ideas.

As we think about the relationship between writing and the learning we seek to seek to foster in our classes, we might consider the following five factors. The first two I have already alluded to. *First, we need to consider the nature of the writing task itself.* Here, as I mentioned earlier, we need to reflect upon the language of the assignment and the kind of learning we are interested in. Are we asking students to summarize, analyze, or synthesize information and are they aware of our learning goals? As well, it is worth considering whether the task is well-defined, giving students relatively clear direction about what is required or is it open-ended, allowing students to choose their own topics or issues. It is important to reflect upon the costs and benefits of giving students either an open-ended or well-structured task. *Second, we need to focus on what students bring to the tasks we design, including their prior knowledge, goals, and skills.* For example, are they familiar with the ideas presented in class and in the reading? Are they aware of different rhetorical strategies, such as how to use a comparison to establish an argument? And, further, what do the students want to accomplish given their commitment to an assigned topic and the time they can reasonably set aside for their writing?

Third, in developing writing assignments, we need to reflect upon the types of learning that we want to occur and share our learning goals with students. Do we want students to simply comprehend information in the texts we assign through writing summaries? to analyze or synthesize information in order to develop their own arguments? to apply their knowledge, as the problem-based assignment in history asked students to do? *Fourth, we need to be aware that what students learn may not simply be a function of the assignment, but the nature of the reading.* It is significant that three of the six published sources the historian gave his students in the study I just described included some fairly complex economic theories and that students chose topics that enabled them to avoid discussing these theories. Thus, it is important to consider the complexity or difficulty of source material we give students, as well as the length of the reading. Students can end up devoting a great of time to reading sources and perhaps less time writing, so that what they produce may be of first-draft quality and not represent what they are actually capable of.

Finally, *we need to consider the evaluative climate of the classroom.* Classrooms have a history and students will draw upon this history to understand how they might go about fulfilling a writing assignment. One student writing an account of the European Recovery Program remarked that she was not willing to take risks because when in the past she had done so she was "marked down." And another student, whom I quoted earlier, reminds us that: "It's much more difficult when you say that this is your opinion. I'd want to be right. I think you leave yourself open for more, especially when [the instructor] is reading your paper. You've got to know what you're talking about." Grading, is of course, the obvious issue here and it is important to reflect upon the kind of response we are providing students. If we want students to explore a given problem or question in multiple drafts, then we should probably keep our written comments open-ended, such as "what if?" or "have you thought about?" instead of more evaluative comments that treat writing as finished.

An equally important issue in this regard is the relationship between the kind of learning we are trying to foster and *the nature of classroom discourse.* For instance, if in class discussion we ask students to summarize information they have read, then it may not be clear to them that they can include their own ideas in what they write—even if this invitation is written out in the assignment. The habits of classroom talk can be a stronger prompt than the assignment itself. It matters who introduces the themes in class discussion and how topics are expressed, discussed, and questioned. After all, the kinds of questions that teachers ask and the evaluations they make affect what knowledge gets made and who makes it (cf. Nystrand & Gamoran, 1989). Thus, those who view a teacher as an examiner are, perhaps, less willing to advance their own ideas than those students who envision their teacher as someone who values their ideas and helps them cultivate a sense of ownership and engagement in instruction.

In concluding my talk, I want to return to the images in *A River Runs through It* and *Higher Leraning* with which I began. These images portray teachers as caring, gifted, and knowledgeable and students as bright and energetic in their attempts to fulfill what their teachers expect of them. But I have also tried to challenge these images as incomplete, urging us to re-examine our assumptions about learning, to give voice to those assumptions that remain tacit, and to become students of different disciplines and of our students themselves. Creating opportunities for learning through immersion or repetition and practice will not suffice if we are to insure that all of our students understand what it means to perform the tasks we give them. We will need to do more. If we succeed, then we will have fulfilled our responsibility to those to whom we hold out the promise of a college education.

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[1] This paper was presented as a talk to the Danish Network for Second Language Pedagogy and the Institute of Language and Communication on 19 May 1995 at Odense University.

[2] When students first enter American universities, they are not as focused as Danish students in that they have determined a major course of study. They take courses in different disciplines in such areas as sociology, botany, drama, and literature.

[3] This discussion and analysis of data are based on Greene (1994a).

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Academic Listening*

Craig Chaudron
Department of English as a Second Language
University of Hawai'i

Abstract

This chapter surveys the principal findings of research in academic listening and their implications for teachers and second language learners. Research focused on academic listening for non-native users of a language has been concerned with

1) the nature of academic speech in lectures (lecture style, structure and content, including aspects of use of visuals, and factors influencing the comprehension of lecture content);
2) the processes second language learners undergo while listening (goals, strategies, construction of meaning);
3) the effects of academic speech on comprehension and acquisition of the second language; and
4) and the training of second language learners as listeners in academic contexts.

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* A revised and shortened version of this paper will appear in a volume entitled A Guide for Teaching Second Language Listening, edited by D. Mendelsohn & J. Rubin. San Diego: Dominie Press.Academic Listening . The author acknowledges the obvious influence especially of Pat Dunkel in this review.

While the precise role of listening comprehension as input to second language acquisition is still debated (see review of issues, critiques, and discussion in Barasch & James 1994, Courchêne, et al. 1992, Larsen-Freeman & Long 1991, Wesche, 1994), increasingly large numbers of second language learners are engaged in academic (and other occupational) pursuits which require them to listen to and comprehend great amounts of second (target) language input. International students are faced with sometimes complex information to be understood and assimilated in order to proceed with academic life. This is true even for students in their own country's advanced educational system in which a second language is used for academic purposes, as exemplified in several academic listening studies conducted on English-speaking professors at Sultan Qaboos University in Oman: Fahmy & Bilton (1990), Flowerdew (1992), and Griffiths (1991a). In recent years, applied linguists working in academic settings have substantially increased our knowledge concerning academic listening tasks and their significance for second language learning and teaching.

Several excellent summaries exist on the general nature of listening comprehension and its role in second language learning and teaching (Dirven & Oakeshott-Taylor 1984, 1985, Dunkel 1991, Larsen-Freeman & Long 1991, Long, in press, Morley 1991, Rost 1990, Rubin 1994, cf. also special issue on *Comprehension*, Applied Linguistics 7,3 1986), and one significant book specifically on academic listening will soon appear (Flowerdew, in press). A central issue for second language acquisition (SLA) is whether or not comprehension activities alone are sufficient to promote SLA. Recent research has suggested that the rate and ultimate level of attainment in the target language (TL) is facilitated by more form-focussed learning activities (Lightbown, Spada, & White, eds., 1993, Long 1991). Concerns in teaching listening comprehension have, however, focussed more on the learners' own use of strategies, the understanding of learners' attitudes and purposes in listening, and provision to learners of information on interpeting L2 speech in context (Dunkel 1991, Mendelsohn 1994, Morley 1991, Rost 1990).

Research on teaching for comprehension in academic contexts is noticeably sparse. Insted of a focus on how best to prepare learners for listening in academic contexts, research has been on 1) describing features of lectures and factors involved in the academic listening task, 2) identifying particular learner behaviors and strategies in listening, including note-taking, 3) determining features of aural texts that directly enhance comprehensibility, and 4) discovering the effects of strategy use on comprehension. This paper will review these areas of study, and following each, suggestions and speculations about teaching practice will be made.

The nature of speech in academic lectures

Some research on L2 listening and interaction in academic settings has been conducted outside a lecture-style context (e.g., the academic advising interview, Bardovi-Harlig & Hartford 1990, 1993). However, the main source of L2 research on academic listening has come from studies involving lectures and lecture comprehension, or from simulations of lecture-type instruction. Rost (1990:Ch. 5) refers to this sort of listening as "transactional" as opposed to "interactional"; it is also referred to as "non-collaborative," or "nonparticipatory." As a major source of second language exposure for international students, characteristics of lectures have interested researchers for their contribution to comprehensibility of lecture content and acquisition of TL forms.

Academic lectures have been identified as a register distinct from written texts or conversations (see early work by Dudley-Evans & Johns 1981, Murphy & Candlin 1979, Shaw 1983, Wijasuriya 1971; cf. also L1 comparative stylistic analyses such as Chafe & Danielewicz 1987). Obviously, lectures tend to be monologic and relatively planned with respect to the content (cf. Ochs 1979). Still, a certain amount of adjustment and unplanned speech can be evident, indicative of the lecturer's awareness of listener presence and needs (see, for instance, the "asides" of Strodt-Lopez 1991). In fact, Shaw's (1983) detailed ethnographic and discourse analysis of university engineering lectures noted an important paradox: that the professors expect more of an informal dialogue to arise from their lectures than in fact does happen, even though they perceive that they leave opportunities for it. This may be a result of the typical need of the lecturer to maintain control of the floor, even in the least formal type of lecture. Dudley-Evans and Johns' (1981) identification of three broad styles of lecture speech has thus been widely recognized as relevant to an understanding of the role allotted to listeners. These styles are: conversational, rhetorical, and reading. They fall more or less on a continuum from informal to formal and from more to less interactive with the listener.

It would seem, therefore, important for second language teachers to be aware of the marks of general lecture style, in order to prepare their students to anticipate both general lecture structure and signals of information flow, and the signals in lectures of opportunities for questions and interaction with the lecturer.

Discourse features of lectures. Examples of typical analytical descriptors of discourse features are shown in the following Table 1. One of the more prominent characteristics of lectures is the use of certain lexical phrases or rhetorical markers which help to signal the major content and sequence in argument, and to demarcate boundaries of non-essential information (DeCarrico & Nattinger 1988, Lebauer 1985, Nattinger & DeCarrico 1992, Olsen & Huckin 1990, Rounds 1987a, Shaw 1983). These have attracted researchers' attention both for their inherent usefulness in understanding the structure of the discourse, and as potential aids in training listeners to understand better.

Although we still lack research on the effects of teaching these, Nattinger & DeCarrico (1992:Ch. 6) display at some length the differences in such forms between less and more formal lecture styles, making the further distinction between "global" and "local" macro-organizers. Supporting Lebauer's (1984, 1985) approach to using clozed versions of lecture transcripts, they argue that if students are trained to recognize such markers as guides to lecture structure, to understand their sometimes metaphorical and formulaic functions, students' processing of lecture information will be enhanced. They illustrate ways in which such markers (such as "now"), with only slight changes in tone or

Feature & Sample source	Description/Label	Example
Global macro-organizers:		
Nattinger & DeCarrico 1992	Topic markers -	*Let's first deal with....*
	Topic shifters -	*This leads to...*
	Summarizers -	*The main point is that....*
Local macro-organizers:		
Nattinger & DeCarrico 1992	Exemplifier -	*One of them was ...*
	Relator -	*This ties in with...*
	Evaluator -	*No problem with that...*
	Qualifier -	*It's only in X that Y...*
	Aside markers -	*Where was I?*
Move types: Cook 1975; cf. Sinclair & Coulthard 1975	Focussing, concluding, describing, asserting, relating, summarizing, recommending, justifying, qualifying, contrasting, explaining	
Transaction types and Sequence structure:		
Shaw 1983	Problem-solving - [possible sequences]: Posal, solution, evaluation	
	Concept-giving - [possible sequences]: Orientation, definition, extended account, formal/informal account, interact/evaluate, recapitulation	
Asides: Strodt-Lopez 1991	An episode of discourse with a distinct topic framework which occurs between discourse episodes having the same topic framework	*by the way*
Definitions:	Formal	[class + characteristic]
Flowerdew 1992	Semi-formal	[characteristic only]
	Substitution	[appositives]
	Ostensive	[pointing]
Vocabulary Elaborations:		
Chaudron 1982	Typical structures: apposition, parallelism, definitions	*funds*, or money
Fahmy & Bilton 1990	Semantics: definitional types, illustrations, paraphrases, synonyms	Where is the biggest *strip city* in the world? Boston to Washington

Table 1: Selected Features of Academic Lectures

context, can have quite distinct functions. Similarly, Strodt-Lopez (1991) shows that asides, which have identifiable markers, internal structure, and functions related to the main lecture, are important features of lectures that maintain audience-speaker rapport and may in fact clarify the speaker's orientation to the main points. Learners can be helped to identify and process such segments within a larger monologue.

Secondly, some research has been devoted to identifying broader informational discourse functions in lectures: definitions (Flowerdew 1992), vocabulary elaborations (Chaudron 1982, Fahmy & Bilton 1990), and various move types (as in the discourse analytical tradition of Halliday seen in Sinclair & Coulthard 1975). Moves have been further identified either according to functional move categories (Cook 1975) or transaction types (Shaw 1983). While the identification of specific realizations that are associated with such functions and moves is not likely, listeners can expect general types of lecture transactions and moves and some natural sequencing of functions to occur. So instruction has a sound basis in presenting and evaluating sample lectures that illustrate these. In all cases, making learners more aware of the forms and variable function of such features of lectures should improve their ability to process lectures - to predict, identify, and associate meanings and references both within and outside the lectures.

There have, finally, been some studies of other features such as atypical pragmatic use of especially first-person pronouns (Rounds 1987a, b, Shaw 1983), which the researchers illustrate as means for lecturers to establish group and social identity. For example, increased use of inclusive "we" appears to create a stronger bond between lecturers and their audience.

Rate of speech. Additional research has been directed at the rate of speech and the pacing of information in lectures (Blau 1990, Griffiths 1991a, b, 1992, Griffiths & Beretta 1991, Rounds 1987a, Shaw 1983, Tauroza & Allison 1990; cf. Chaudron's 1988: Ch. 3 review of teacher talk and rate factors in classroom studies). Much of this research has aimed at determining whether teachers address learners of lower levels of competence at a slower rate, and whether such a slower rate would affect comprehensibility of the content. Rounds (1987a) addresses the topic of speech rate with respect to the amount and use of silence (her categories of silence were administrative, strategic, and empty). She suggests that the appropriate use of silence may be an important adjunct to lecturers' talk. Listeners, of course, need to be conscious of the potential meaning of silence, to recognize it as an intentional or inadvertent signal of a break in organization and thus as an opportunity to summarize the content mentally and prepare for the upcoming material.

Griffiths (1991a, b) argues in fact that overall rate of speech can be a misleading approach to assessing comprehensibility, as the key factors affecting comprehension of orally delivered information relate more likely to the location and duration of pauses in speech. He points out that speech rate varies little among different lecturers addressing different audiences, and that the common measures of rate of speech are inappropriate. In fact, Griffiths and Beretta (1991) found no differences in a number of measures of rate of speech between live lectures to NS and high and low proficiency NNS listeners, while one would anticipate there to be reductions for the latter groups (notably, they did find evidence of other sorts of modifications, to be discussed in a later section). Tauroza and Allison (1990) concur with Griffiths in preferring a syllable-based measure to a word-based one, although they do find that rate of speech distinguishes between lecture style and other speech styles (radio monologues, conversation, and interviews), with lecture style being the slowest.[1] Yet, according to Griffiths' own continuation studies, to be discussed in a later section, something can be said in favor of a certain level of slow speech.

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1. It is interesting to note that Griffiths' (1991a) common speech rate obtained (around 3.3 syllables per second = 198 s.p.m., with a range between 2.5 and 4.5 s.p.s. = 150—270 s.p.m.) corresponds almost exactly to Tauroza and Allison's (1990) syllables per minute range and mean found for lecture style (157–273, mean 194.5 s.p.m.). Similarly, Shaw's (1983) finding of a range of 107.1 to 174.2 (mean = 136.5) words per minute rates for 9 different professors' lectures in the U.S. (each with 3 lectures of 50 minutes duration) compares very closely to Tauroza and Allison's finding of 102–199 w.p.m (mean = 141.7) for British lecture style. While these norms are important, most researchers will recognize Griffiths' caveat, that the rate of speech alone is likely not the most critical factor in affecting comprehension.

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While second language learners may not be able directly to influence a lecturer's speech rate, the recognition that pause placement and length is a likely indicator of semantic or discourse units in a lecture can be an aid in learning to process faster rates of speech in monologues.

Non-verbal factors. In addition to the verbal characteristics of lectures, a few researchers have noted the significance of non-verbal factors, such as the use of visuals, paralanguage, and gestures (English 1985, Kellerman 1992, King, in press, Shaw 1983). Visuals can range widely, from the use of slides, transparencies, writing on the blackboard, and varieties of writing such as words, diagrams, formulae, and so on. This research has demonstrated that the second language listener can obtain valuable secondary information to support the interpretation of the lecture material, but in some cases this will only occur if the primary verbal information or key signals (e.g., deictic reference to the proper visual or part of a diagram, formulae, or transparency) are comprehended. In addition, however, Shaw (1983) illustrates how lecturers' use of blackboard information constitutes in significant ways the primary source of information being conveyed. King (in press) provides a similar illustration, pointing out that this is likely to be so especially in science or engineering lectures, although he also notes high inter-lecture variability.

For these reasons, teachers of listening comprehension would probably do well to prepare their L2 learners with as diverse and authentic samples of visually assisted lectures as possible, depending on the disciplinary specializations of their students.

Cultural content/background knowledge. A final factor involved in lectures, the semantic content, has most particularly been studied with reference to differences in prior knowledge of content and their effects on comprehensibility. In an investigation of the difficulties of Chinese scientists while following courses in their field, Yuan (1982) found that the high percentage of unfamiliar non-technical vocabulary encountered in the lectures caused his subjects considerable difficulty, while they generally could understand the technical vocabulary, unless its pronunciation was highly divergent from the Chinese usage. At the same time, U.S. culture-specific terms, such as use of non-metric measurement terminology, was a further complication in the subjects' ability to visualize lecture content. Fahmy and Bilton (1990) note similar sorts of problems likely for their Omani listeners who were not familiar with their English-speaking expatriate lecturers' references to unknown cultural phenomena (e.g., freeze-drying or bubble - gum). It should be clear that teachers of listening need to assess their students' understanding of TL pronuncation of technical vocabulary, as well as to anticipate a certain amount of use of culture-specific terms and metaphors in academic lectures (such as the use of expressions from baseball, U.S. football, or poker - "three strikes and you're out," "do an end run," "here's the kicker").

Markham and Latham (1987), Chiang and Dunkel (1992) and Long (1990) are among the few L2 researchers who have focussed on prior differences in knowledge and its effects on listening comprehension. Following similar research on L2 reading comprehension, they have proposed and demonstrated that listeners would have greater difficulty understanding lecture material on unfamiliar topics.[2] As these researchers are aware (they do not in fact refer to "culture"), it is inappropriate to attribute a generic notion of "culture" to such findings, as opposed to the less presumptive notion of "familiar" versus "unfamiliar," for similar results can be obtained with respect to any differences in listeners' prior knowledge (cf. L1 listening studies such as Lambiotte & Dansereau 1991).

Obviously, teachers of second language listeners cannot possibly prepare their students for the extremely diverse knowledge which may be needed to understand lectures. Yet one might safely presume that instructing learners in retaining lecture content in its most verbatim, least synthesized form as long as possible would allow for the best eventual construction of the internal schema

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2. In Markham & Latham (1987), ESL subjects of differing religious backgrounds listened to passages on either Islamic or Christian prayer rituals. In Chiang & Dunkel (1992), Chinese students listened to a passage about the Amish in contrast to a passage about Confucius. In Long (1990), U.S. students' listened to L2 Spanish passages about the California gold rush–unfamiliar, and the music group U2–familiar.

of the lecture, and association of key points to prior learner knowledge, or knowledge that the learner could thus seek after listening. This suggestion must, however, be balanced against the learner's need to summarize and synthesize whenever possible, in order to avoid an extra load on memory. The later section on note-taking will illustrate this dilemma.

Learner behavior in lectures

A few researchers have been concerned with the process of listening from the point of view of the second language learner/student who is required to attend to the lecture in order to learn the relevant course material. Listening behavior in general has of course been the topic of a certain amount of research (cf. Mangubhai 1991, O'Malley & Chamot 1990), but the major focus of research on academic listeners has been on their note-taking strategies, which we will describe shortly.

General learner strategies. Rost (1990:122–136) outlines a broad categorization of ways in which learners' comprehension of lectures may be "accessed" by researchers (cf. classification in Chaudron, et al. 1986, in press): 1) "on-line" (immediate), "retrospective" (delayed) or "prospective," 2) "open" or "closed" tasks, and 3) tasks requiring an original or a verbatim formulation of the content. A small number of studies have investigated general listener behavior in lectures, usually employing one or more of the above approaches (Benson 1989, Clerehan 1992, Flowerdew & Miller 1992, Olsen & Huckin 1990, O'Malley, Chamot, & Kupper 1989, Yuan 1982). Some of the interesting features they have investigated are outlined in Table 2.

Feature	Example source
Translation into L1	Yuan 1982 O'Malley, et al. 1989 Flowerdew & Miller 1992
Taking time to think/concentrate	Flowerdew & Miller 1992
Decoding sentence by sentence	Yuan 1982, Olsen & Huckin 1990
Self-monitoring, elaborating, inferencing	O'Malley, et al. 1989
Pre-, during- and post-reading of text	Flowerdew & Miller 1992
Asking classmates for help	Flowerdew & Miller 1992
Asking lecturer afterwards	Flowerdew & Miller 1992
Note-taking	See references below

Table 2: Features of listener behavior in lectures

What these researchers have not been able to determine is the extent to which any one or combination of such behaviors improves comprehension. This represents a serious project for research by listening teachers: to determine what particular listening behaviors can be taught, improved on, and lead to improved comprehension by learners. Three studies exemplify the direction such research may take.

Benson (1989) identifies three aspects of one learner's process of learning in a lecture format, each of which he claims reflects a "generally reproductive learning conception:" "a) adding to and making new relationships between things he already knew, b) localizing ideas to [the home country], and c) assimilating and personalizing the teacher's perspective" (p. 439). Benson acknowledges that this learner was probably not strongly involved in learning this material, which affected the learner's approach. He laments such a learning-free attitude, and ventures the implication that listening courses should enforce a stronger content-learning component, in which listening behaviors would be integrated more fully with other skills, including productive target use (pp. 440-441).

O'Malley, Chamot, and Kupper (1989) describe a detailed exploration of Spanish-speaking high school students' self-reported strategies in listening to short lecturettes and other academic tasks. Subjects were selected for the study following discrimination between "effective" and "ineffective" listeners, based on teachers' evaluations of them. Their self-reports revealed that "effective" listeners 1) were more able to self-monitor - notice their loss of attention or over-elaboration of the message, and redirect themselves to the task; 2) listened for more global, larger "chunks" of the lectures, instead of focussing on word - by-word decoding; 3) inferred word meanings from context; and 4) elaborated on text meanings - related new information to old - by bringing personal or world knowledge to bear, and by self-questioning. Whether and how these behaviors can be taught remains to be seen.

On a more general level, Olsen and Huckin (1990) make the important point that different disciplines and lecturers will tend to adopt distinct argumentation or presentational styles. Therefore, listeners' strategies should be oriented toward discovering the underlying structure and argument of a lecture. Specifically, they illustrate non-native listeners' variable success in recognizing the main points of a lecture as derived from their following either "point-driven" or "information-driven" strategies in listening.[3] The former is necessary in the case of lectures that present a Problem-Solution structure of argument, while the latter is more appropriate perhaps to descriptive and relational presentations. A mismatch in strategy with lecture structure can lead to serious miscomprehension of main points. Most likely, both strategies are needed for more complex lecture presentations.

Note-taking. The topic of note-taking has been addressed widely in L1 literature (see brief surveys in Chaudron, et al. 1988, in press, Dunkel 1988a, b). L2 studies have followed similar lines, although they have perhaps been more focussed on details of the forms and functions of language in L2 learners' notes. Notes have been examined in the literature for their value either as a form of "external storage" of the information in the lecture, for use in later retrieval, or as a way for the listener to "encode" the information while listening (see

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3. Such a distinction in difficulty was noted as well in Yuan (1982). The two lecture types correspond to Shaw's two transaction types, shown in Table 1 (cf. also Bonnie Meyer's work on schema for content structure analysis of written texts—Meyer 1985, Meyer & Rice 1984—with Problem-Solution as one type, and several other text types following a more information - driven structure).

discussion in Chaudron, et al. 1988, Dunkel 1988b). The main finding of L1 research was summed up by Chaudron, et al.:

> The results to date tend to favor the external storage position, but this situation may be biased by the reliance of researchers on sometimes gross measures of lecture content recall, and their failure to develop more refined measures of learners' internal encoding and representation of lecture content. (1988:5)

The evaluation of note quality relative to lecture content is therefore a key research goal of several studies. While Hull (1988) outlined a basic set of objective norms for tabulating note content, as Clerehan (1992) points out, this scheme was inadequate to evaluate note-to-lecture relationships. Rost (1990:126) proposes a general schematic breakdown for analyzing notes relative to the lecture content:

Topic-relation - topicalizing, translating, copying, transcribing, schematizing;
Concept-ordering - sequence cuing, hierarchy cuing, relation ordering;
Focusing - highlighting, de-highlighting; and
Revising - inserting, erasing.

Dunkel (1988b) outlined the major means of assessing quality quantitatively, to which Chaudron, et al. (1988) added one final measure:

Total words;
Information units;
"Efficiency" - ratio of information units to total words;
"Completeness" - ratio of information units in the lecture to information units in notes;
"Test-answerability" - based on the relation of note content and later test content. [Dunkel 1988b:265]
Amount and proportion of higher order information relative to lower order information [Chaudron, et al. 1988:6]

Most of the empirical studies of L2 notetaking have pointed to the failure of subjects to record the important and higher-order information, as L2 learners tend to focus on verbatim transcription and individual words. Nonnatives are often aware of their short-comings, however, as evidenced in Dunkel & Davy

(1989). Clerehan (1992), for example, found L2 learners omitting 19% of major headings in a lecture, and 34% of sub-headings, compared to L1 subjects' near - 100% recording. One source of such omissions, she suggests, is the students' failure to simplify their notes, along the lines hypothesized as characteristic of notes in Janda (1985).[4] King (in press) also noted subjects failing to fully abbreviate in their notes, and Fahmy and Bilton (1990) found about 25% of their subjects keeping very disorganized notes, making virtually no use of abbreviations. It is likely that lecturer factors, such as appropriate focussing or emphasis, can improve such behavior. On the other hand, providing too much aid, such as providing handouts, may negatively influence listeners: Fahmy and Bilton (1990) also noted that students tended to take better notes on the key vocabulary elaborated by the lecturers when they had to take their own independent notes, as opposed to when they had a handout with the lecture outline provided.

It should be evident to the practitioner that the training of non-native speakers in note-taking is a complex task, requiring patience in guiding learners to recognize main and subordinate points, to take rapid and well-abbreviated notes instead of verbatim text, and to maintain organization in their notes for later reference. Thus far, we lack sufficient research in the success of note - taking instruction.

Relationships between lecture structure or learner strategies and comprehension

Whether the applied linguist is addressing the training needs from lecturers of non-native learners, or the direct needs of the learners themselves, it is essential to determine those lecturing and listening strategies that are most effective for comprehension and retention. Several speculations for teaching of listening comprehension have been made here, based on primarily descriptive research. Yet the preferred source of teaching principles should be the concrete findings of correlations or causal relationships between lecture structure or

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4. Janda was clearly not anticipating the evidence that would arise from nonnative note-takers.

learner strategies and comprehension. This has been the focus of several researchers. As a question of SLA, however, to date, little research has explored the further issue: the extent of learner acquisition of new L2 lexis and rules as a result merely of listening to lecture material (though see Toya 1992, discussed later, and cf. research on general comprehension-based instruction such as that of Lightbown 1992).

Lecture structure and effects on comprehension/retention

Rate effects. A number of studies have been conducted to investigate the effects on comprehension of slowing the rate of presentation of lectures (see review of earlier teacher-talk studies in Chaudron 1988:Ch. 6). As noted above, Griffiths (1990a, 1991a, b) has been (justifiably) critical of the manner in which rate of speech has been measured in such research. Several comparative studies of comprehension of normal versus reduced speed speech did not fully contrast rate of speech with other modifications (see review in Parker & Chaudron 1987, summarized in Larsen-Freeman & Long 1991).

Griffiths' views are borne out somewhat in three independently conducted studies. Derwing (1990) investigated speech rate in NS-NNS interactions in pairs in order to determine the effects on comprehension of NS's rate adjustments. She found, against expectations, that while NSs did not make substantial adjustments in rate of speech, they did in pause frequency and length, and that NNS listeners did more poorly in comprehending when slower speech was addressed to them. The likely source of this was the fact that the NSs made more pauses and other adjustments precisely when they sensed that the information was not being or might not be conveyed. In contrast to this more naturally generated interactive task, in two related studies Blau (1990) constructed pre-recorded short listening passages at differing rates of presentation, and with varying degrees of pauses inserted (a further factor of type of modification will be discussed below). While she found no particular effect for comprehension of the material at a slower rate of presentation (though the differences were only between 170 and 145 w.p.m. and between 200 and 185 w.p.m.), passages presented with inserted 3-second pauses (resulting in a 150 w.p.m. overall rate) were comprehended significantly better.

In contrast to his earlier presumptions, Griffiths (1990b, 1992) did report two experiments in which relatively slow speech rates (at around 2.0 and 2.5 syllables per second, or about 100 and 125 w.p.m., respectively, for the two studies) resulted in superior comprehension of lecture material by lower intermediate adult students to that of listeners to more rapidly spoken texts (150 w.p.m. or faster, up to over 200 w.p.m.).

The obvious suggestion following from these studies is that lecturers addressing second language learners should attempt to speak at a slower rate, achieving this principally by inserting more pauses at appropriate moments.

Vocabulary. There has as yet been insufficient research on the acquisition or retention of vocabulary based on lecture presentation. Fahmy and Bilton (1990) had suggested that a slightly higher rate of retention in students' notes of one lecturer's vocabulary elaborations may have been a result of that lecturer's clearer signalling of vocabulary. Thus, following the suggestion of L1 reading findings (Carroll & Drum 1983), Toya (1992) manipulated vocabulary elaboration and definition in an experimental L2 study of retention of aurally presented vocabulary. Using two different texts of between 285 and 302 words, she constructed recorded lectures incorporating explanatory modifications of 12 vocabulary items in each: "explicit" explanations which followed an explicit definitional format; "implicit" explanations which involved paraphrases or appositions; and both of these contrasted against "baseline" conditions of no elaboration. Each final text version had a mixture of these three types of elaboration. Comprehension measures of overall content and specific knowledge of the vocabulary were prepared. 109 Japanese university students of English as a second language listened to the two passages three times each, responding each time to vocabulary tests (translation or explanation in L1). For virtually every vocabulary item (24 in all), comprehension of its meaning increased steadily and significantly in the explicit condition, contrasted with little or no increase for the other two conditions (overall, the implicit condition was slightly better than the baseline). The continual increase over three listenings was likely due to the priming effect of the test, but as this tended only to be an effect for the explicitly elaborated vocabulary, it appears certain that the explicit definitional form enhanced awareness. Unfortunately, a delayed post-test four weeks later showed subjects returning to their pre-listening level of knowledge for all items equally, indicating that surprisingly, long-term retention was not directly affected.

Toya's (1992) study confirms the hypotheses posed by earlier work on vocabulary elaboration and definition, that clarity of elaboration can impact learners' comprehension. In view of the long-term reversion to earlier levels in her study, however, it may be necessary to follow up on learners' initial comprehension of difficult vocabulary with some other active tasks incorporating the vocabulary productively.

Complexity and interactive discourse markers/rhetorical structure. In light of the less impressive findings relating speech rate to comprehension, greater attention has been turning to research on the effects of discourse signals and other forms of modification in lecture presentation. Again, Parker and Chaudron (1987), and other research reviewed in Larsen-Freeman and Long (1991), illustrate that a variety of discourse modifications of speech to non-natives can enhance comprehension, to the point that other complexities of text are overridden. Of special interest recently have been modifications at a high level of discourse structure, as in Chaudron and Richards' (1986) study contrasting the comprehension of texts with inserted macro- and micro-markers. Their widely discussed results parallel those of an L1 study by Hron, et al. (1985): high-level signalling of the content of the lecture resulted in superior comprehension of high-level text content on immediately following tests, as well as on delayed written tests. Several recent studies have now added substantially to our understanding of the power of these and other syntactic and discourse modifications.

In addition to assessing the effect of differential speech rate, Blau (1990) attempted to confirm her earlier finding (1982) for reading comprehension by using the same passages with adjustments in syntactic complexity. She could not find any significant effect, however, for either syntactically simplified passages or passages with the underlying structure of complex syntax left opaque. Given other findings for listening comprehension, it is possible that Blau's syntactic modifications (simplifying or elaborating) were not appropriate in a listening mode for the short passages employed. A contrast to Blau's finding, which adopted a similar design, was Cervantes and Gainer's (1992) pair of studies. They factored in both a) syntax with quite low and high degrees of complexity (comparing between 1.2 and 2.5 S-nodes per T-unit, and between 1.33 and 3 S-nodes per T-unit), and b) the effect of repeating the presentation. They found a significant effect on cloze comprehension measures, favoring the less complex passages. But they also found that the repetition effect in their second experiment resulted in the more complex passage having equivalent results to those of the less complex passage.

Cervantes and Gainer's study is a further support for the notion that discourse modifications of a text can counteract other potentially negative effects. A final study of this issue is that of Chiang and Dunkel (1992). They incorporated a number of elaborative modifications in both the familiar and unfamiliar texts of their lecture passages (see description above as well as comment in the following section). These were principally redundancies - rephrasings and repetitions of information, occasionally definitional elaborations. As has been typically the case in such experiments, the modified passages tended to be longer and more complex - they were presented, however, at the same rate of delivery (around 100 w.p.m., quite slow by previous standards). Chiang and Dunkel found a significant effect for the modified passages, apparently entirely the result of an interaction effect with the proficiency level of the subjects: a higher proficiency group showed a much more marked advantage for the modified versions than a lower proficiency group. They refer to this as a "language competence ceiling," not unlike effects observed in reading comprehension and in previous listening comprehension comparisons (cf. Parker & Chaudron 1987), where learners of only a certain level appear to enjoy the enhanced effects of such modifications.

Lecturers to non-native listeners should certainly be aware of the value of discourse markers to make their organization and elaboration of meanings clearer. But teachers of listening should also consider the likelihood of there being such a "ceiling," as grounds for helping especially the weakest listeners to recognize and process elaborations such as paraphrase, definitions, and repetitions. In light of Nattinger and DeCarrico's (1992) call for a more elaborated analysis of macro-markers in lectures, and the on-going interest in other modifications of lecture speech which may enhance comprehensibility, it seems that further research is greatly needed in this specific area.

Visuals/Kinesics. Unfortunately, despite the general interest in the impact of non-verbal aspects of speech and visual information presented in lectures, there has been insufficient study of their effects on listener comprehension. There are indications (in Benson 1989, Clerehan 1992, King in press) that visuals are observed and recorded, but the use made of general non-verbal behavior is not widely reported. When English (1985) attempted an experiment to instruct one group of Chinese scientists in observing non-verbal behavior and its significance for comprehending the lecture material, no significant differences were found between their measures of comprehension and those of either a control group or a group trained in "guessing, predicting, and data collecting for hypothesis-formation." Yet, as English's study focussed primarily on lecturers' gestures, rather than on, say, audio-visuals, the recommendation earlier in this chapter to train learners in visual processing of lecture information is not refuted.

Background knowledge. The previously presented results of Markham and Latham's (1987) study of ESL learners' background knowledge of religious practices, Long's (1990) study of Spanish L2 subjects' comprehension of differentially available (current versus past history) knowledge, and Chiang and Dunkel's (1992) study of Chinese L2 learners of English, all converge on the not-too surprising finding that people comprehend more if they know more about the topic beforehand (O'Malley, et al. 1989, had also found evidence of this result). Nonetheless, in Chiang and Dunkel's study, when comprehension items were differentiated with respect to the ability to respond to them independently of exposure to the passage, it was the passage-independent items which were better recalled on the familiar lecture test. This interesting finding suggests that future research, as well as teachers of listening strategies (!), will need to be more careful in evaluating the contribution to listeners' performance of their general knowledge and inferential capacity, as opposed to their ability to recall specific lecture content.

Learner strategy effects on comprehension/retention

General strategies. As in the case of non-verbal components of lectures, the extent to which listeners' strategies have affected their comprehension and retention of lecture material has not been investigated to any degree. O'Malley, et al.'s (1989) findings reported earlier are among the only studies attempting to relate specific strategies to listening outcomes, though their inferences are based primarily on prior identification of effective and ineffective listeners. The major source of information about such effects, aside from an occasional mention of retrospective listener subjective assessments (as in Benson 1989, Yuan 1982), has come from studies of the effects of listeners' notetaking on their retention of lecture information.

Quality of notes/Presence or absence of notetaking. Dunkel, Mishra, and Berliner (1989) studied 136 native English speakers and 123 nonnatives listening to a nearly 23-minute lecture on the evolution of the Egyptian pyramid structure. Both a notetaking and a no-notetaking condition were employed, though the subjects were not allowed to keep their notes (this tested thus for "encoding" effects). Dunkel, et al. found no effect for note-taking on comprehension test scores in either the NS or NNS groups, though NSs were superior overall to NNSs, and subjects with higher short-term memory ability recalled more concept and detail information than subjects with weaker memory abilities. This was a further support for a "storage" effect of notes, under the assumption that there was adequate note quality.

As a follow-up to this study, however, Dunkel (1988b) evaluated the relationship between the measures of note quality listed above and the subjects' comprehension scores for concepts and details in the lectures. L2 subjects showed a significant relationship between number of information units recorded in notes and their correct responses to concept information, as well as a significant negative effect of total words in notes (i.e., the more in notes, the less ability to recall the principal content, pointing again to the problem of non - natives recording too much information verbatim). Likewise, there was a positive relationship between amount of information units and detail recall, while "completeness," or the ratio of the target lecture units to subjects' information units, was the second best predictor of detail recall.

A final study which looked closely at the relationship between note presence and quality and test performance was that of Chaudron, Cook, and Loschky (1988). They allowed some groups of their subjects to keep their own notes, while other groups had the notes removed, after they listened to three different lectures. Chaudron, et al. also applied several detailed, objective measures of note quality to determine any likely relationships between quality of notes kept and comprehension test scores. The result was that there was a more positive relationship between some note qualities (especially abbreviations) and success on lecture comprehension measures. Lacking more complete relationships, the authors in a later paper (Chaudron, Loschky, & Cook, in press) have conceded that there are still insufficient grounds to consider any particular measures of note quality as a direct measure of lecture comprehension. If the "encoding" value of note-taking proves to be weak, then clearly, the adequacy of the notes as storage, and the relevance of specific information taken down in such notes, will depend heavily on the task-specific demands on listeners following listening (i.e., test-specificity, opportunity to review, etc.).

It is perhaps premature to try to point to clear recommendations for teaching listening comprehension derived from the current research on learner behavior. A considerable amount of research is needed in order to determine the best strategies in listening and note-taking, and to demonstrate the "teachability" of such strategies. To the extent that well-organized and abbreviated notes (avoiding the tendency to take notes verbatim) provide a good source for later recall and study, it is surely incumbent on listening teachers to provide practice in producing and using these - not, however, to the exclusion of encouraging learners to apply other on-line listening strategies.

Conclusion

The target second language that learners encounter in academic settings is highly variable, making it difficult to predict for a given learner what he or she should be specifically prepared for in listening tasks. Many factors lead to possibly greater problems for second language learners than the specific difficulties encountered in academic lectures: cultural adaptation, adjustment to the typically different study skills required in the TL academic environment, and the slow learning of TL forms that are common to general spoken language (e.g., reduced forms). These areas are also vital to a comprehensive training program for second language learners. To take one example, SLA research has shown that L2 learners can enhance their comprehension by learning to interact and negotiate with TL speakers (e.g., Rost & Ross 1991), and presumably by learning appropriate interactive patterns in TL classrooms and lectures, they can improve overall academic functioning.

Research on this area of second language use will continue, due in part to the convenience of conducting research on and with academic lectures, and in part to the recognized need of second language learners to cope with real academic input in the TL. We should constantly be striving to understand better what it takes to comprehend a lecture well, to isolate the factors that enhance retention of the information for later application, and to point to which features of either the lecture or the learners' behavior in response, if any, can lead to learner acquisition of the TL from input in such an exposure. By increasing our understanding of these issues, practitioners in applied linguistics will be much better able to serve their colleagues in the academic community than heretofore.

A note on applications of academic listening research

Although we lack a great deal of information about academic listening behavior and the effects of it on general L2 acquisition, there has been rapid development in a number of areas of research directly derived from the investigations reviewed in the preceding pages. These include the general measurement literature on listening comprehension, and continuing studies of the effects of differential speech adjustments to non-native listeners. Due to lack of space, only brief reference to this literature is provided here for follow - up.

Measurement of comprehension. As mini-lectures have been used for a long time in global listening tests such as the TOEFL, it is not at all surprising to find them used in continuing listening research. Chaudron (1985) employed videos of lectures in order to determine the most reliable measure of lecture recall, comparing among multiple choice, fixed-ratio, and rational cloze measures (the latter proved the most reliable). Shohamy and Inbar (1991) evaluated the differential effects of lecturettes, dialogues, and news broadcast formats on listening comprehension scores, finding lecturettes to fall in the middle of a range of difficulty. Most recently, Dunkel, Henning and Chaudron (1993) provide a global overview and a model of listening comprehension measurement, including academic lectures as a text type.

Training of ITA's. A highly active area of investigation has resulted from the increased need to assess and train international teaching assistants at universities in which the target language is the TA's second language (Bailey 1982, Davies 1989). Topics of research range from the pedagogical problems of selecting key areas for instruction - as in Anderson-Hsieh's (1990) proposal to teach suprasegmentals, Rounds' (1987a) citing of pronouns, discourse markers, and vocabulary clarification as problem areas, to general identification of sources of non-comprehensibility in non-native speech - Anderson-Hsieh and Koehler (1988), Hoekje and Williams (1992), a series of studies by Tyler and her associates (Tyler 1992, Tyler & Bro 1992, 1993, Tyler, Jeffries, & Davies 1988), and

Williams 1992. The principal finding of these studies is that non-natives can overcome difficulties in comprehensibility of their segmental productions by means of more global strategies of signalling and proper stress and pacing of information.

SLA: learner strategies and differential speech to non-natives. Finally, as indicated in the preceding, continuing studies of learner strategies in listening and interactive processing, and on the effects of modifications in speech to non-natives in academic contexts, are of critical significance in the study of the overall effects of instruction on acquisition (e.g., Carroll & Swain 1993, Lightbown, et al. 1993, Robinson & Ha 1993, Rost & Roth 1991). As second language research pursues the current questions concerning the degree of formal instruction and input, and the extent to which learners' interaction with formal instruction can influence rapid and successful attainment of TL competence, the study of the intentional and incidental impact of teachers' lecture and interactional styles on learners' comprehension will be of increasing value to both theoreticians and practitioners.

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Hans Barkowski

Prinzipien interkulturellen Lernens für die multikulturelle und mehrsprachige Schule[1]

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[1] Geringfügig (vom Autor) redigierter Auszug aus: "Setz dich zu mir, mein Kamel"... (Barkowski; in: Deutsch Lernen 2/92); insbesondere wurde die Perspektive der Vermitttung des Deutschen zugunsten übergreifender Orientierungen weitgehend weggelassen.

1. Interkulturelles Lernen und Lehren als Ablösung der 'Ausländerpädagogik'

Begriff und Konzept der Interkulturellen Erziehung lassen sich zunächst als inhaltliche Opposition zur 'Ausländerpädagogik' verstehen: Konzepte der Ausländerpädagogik waren - und sind! - vor allem durch folgende Merkmale gekennzeichnet:

- Migrant/inn/en, Flüchtlinge und ihre Familien werden als Ausländer wahrgenommen und d.h. vor allem: nicht und nie als Inländer ("*Ausländer bleibt Ausländer*");

- soziale und pädagogische Programme haben die *assimilierende Integration* der Ausländer in die deutsche Gesellschaft zum Ziel und organisieren dazu vornehmlich kompensatorische Angebote (Deutschkurse, Sozialberatung, Vorbereitungsklassen); die nationalistische bis rassistische Basis dieser Orientierung wird dabei - je nach politischem Standort und Bewußtheit der beteiligten Pädagog/inn/en, Sozialarbeiter/innen usw. nicht reflektiert, verdrängt, geleugnet, verharmlost, in Kauf genommen oder ausdrücklich bejaht;

- im Zuge des kompensatorischen, auf 'Chancengleichheit' orientierten Ansatzes werden die *Institutionen und Ziele der Ausbildung selbst nicht hinterfragt* ; Maßstab des Erfolges einer 'ausländerpädagogischen Maßnahme' ist mithin das erfolgreiche Mittun im vorgegebenen Paradigma des einsprachig und monokulturell ausgerichteten deutschen Bildungs- und Ausbildungssystems;
- kulturelle Eigenausdrücke der nicht-autochthonen Minderheiten werden zugelassen, z.T. auch begrüßt und unterstützt, solange sie den Assimilierungseffekt nicht nachhaltig behindern bzw. den kulturellen Eigenausdruck der Mehrheitsgesellschaft nicht substanziell relativieren oder gar in Frage stellen ('*folkloristisch-kulinarische Toleranz*'); i.ü. wird kulturelle Andersartigkeit nicht dialogisch verarbeitet sondern als Distanzerleben organisiert, wobei die Mehrheitsgesellschaft den Maßstab abgibt ('*koloniale Perspektive*', häufig ethnosoziologisch (pseudo)rationalisiert);

- das der Ausländerpädagogik implizite Modell von dominanter Mehrheitskultur und anzupassenden Minderheiten, von Oben und Unten spiegelt sich wieder in den Betreuungsverhältnissen, in denen die Ausländer allemal als Objekte der Fürsorge und Förderung vorkommen, nicht aber als Subjekte ihrer gesellschaftlichen Emanzipation als Angehörige von Minderheiten agieren.

Die in den genannten Merkmalen durchgängig ausgedrückte nationalistische und ethnozentrische Perspektive zu verlassen, ist zweifellos ein Kernbestand des Selbstverständnisses Interkultureller Erziehung. Trotzdem bleibt festzustellen, daß der Begriff der Interkulturellen Erziehung - ich werde i.F. den von mir bevorzugten Begriff 'Interkulturelles Lernen und Lehren' verwenden[2] - bislang eher eine appellative Funktion wahrnimmt, als daß er bereits mit einer definierten erziehungswissenschaftlichen Programmatik und in der Praxis etablierten und bewährten Lehr- und Lernweisen verknüpft wäre.

Es geht mir nun darum, einerseits die appellativen Inhalte Interkulturellen Lernens und Lehrens (i.f.: ILL) auf ihre konzeptionelle Tragfähigkeit hin zu befragen und ggf. zu modifizieren und andererseits, zu zeigen, wie sich die programmatischen Ansprüche ILL's auf Deutsch-als-Zweitsprache - Zusammenhänge (i.f. DaZ) anwenden lassen.

2. Interkulturelles Lernen und Lehren - was ist das?

2.1. Vorbemerkung

In appellativer Hinsicht proklamiert Interkulturelles Lernen das Lernen der Kulturen bzw. der ihnen jeweils Angehörigen voneinander und miteinander, ein Appell, der sich schon lange nicht mehr nur von einer 'linken Position' und/ oder ethischen Gleichheitsaxiomen her begrunden läßt, sondern den unübersehbaren und unaufhaltsamen Wandel von Nationalstaaten hin zu multikulturellen, mehrsprachigen und multiethnischen Gesellschaften und Staatenverbänden reflektiert.

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[2] Der Begriff der 'Erziehung' mit seinen impliziten Rollenzuschreibungen scheint mir mindestens für den Kontext der Erwachsenenbildung unangemessen zu sein, in seiner Einweg-Perspektive allerdings nicht nur für diesen.

Dabei dokumentiert die Geschichte, und dies nicht erst mit dem kriegerischen Zerfall Jugoslawiens und dem Ende der sowjetischen Staatenunion, daß ein *Leben von Kulturen in Kontakt* keineswegs zwangsläufig in ein friedliches interkulturelles Zusammenleben mundet: so zeigen etwa USA, Großbritannien und Brasilien in sehr unterschiedlicher Weise, daß Rassismus - bei formalrechtlicher Gleichstellung aller Bürger - durchaus auch ein dauerhaftes Merkmal von ihrer Definition nach offenen, pluralistischen und demokratischen Gesellschaften sein kann.

Es ist deswegen nicht besonders hilfreich, an den Anfang einer Diskussion über den Begriff Interkulturellen Lernens und Lehrens idealistische Projektionen vom harmonischen, konfliktfreien Zusammenleben und von der gegenseitigen Bereicherung der Kulturen zu stellen, wie sie hinter pädagogischen Positionen zur Interkulturellen Erziehung - auch: der antirassistischen Erziehung - immer wieder hervorscheinen.

In dem Bemühen um eine realistische Perspektive werde ich deswegen i.f. zunächst unterscheiden zwischen *Interkulturelletn Lernen und Lehren als realem gesellschaftlichen Ereignis* zwischen kontaktierenden Kulturen und *Interkulturellem Lernen und Lehren als pädagogischer Programmatik.*

2.2. Interkulturelles Lernen und Lehren in der außerpädagogischen Wirklichkeit

ILL als außerpädagogisches Ereignis geschieht in der Begegnung von Touristen und Einheimischen; von Arbeitsmigranten und Autochthonen; beim Aufeinandertreffen nationaler Ökonomien auf dem Weltmarkt; in Kriegen; bei der Berichterstattung über Kriege und ihre Ursachen. ILL als außerpädagogisches Ereignis führt hier zu Annäherung, da zur Entfremdung, zu Nähe oder Distanz, zu Verständnis oder Ablehnung, zu Interesse oder Gleichgültigkeit. Ill kann widersprüchlich verlaufen, in Sprüngen nach vorn und nach hinten, und zu uneindeutigen Ergebnissen führen, zum einerseits-andererseits, zum zwar-aber. ILL als außerpädagogisches Ereignis findet gesteuert statt, aber auch spontan. Gesteuert durch Medien und Politik; durch Wertzuschreibungen an Sprachen und Kulturen, Industrieprodukte und Religionen. Spontan in zufälligen Begegnungen, durch individuelle und womöglich untypische Erfahrungen und deren Verallgemeinerung.

M.A. Worten: *ILL als außerpädagogisches Ereignis* ist ein alltäglicher Vorgang, der einerseits nach Regeln und prognostizierbar verläuft, andererseits chaotisch und zufällig, der von den unterschiedlichsten Einstellungen ausgehen und zu den unterschiedlichsten Einstellungen führen kann - oder auch gar nichts bewegt.

Spätestens der Versuch, den Vorgang ILL's auf der Ebene der Begegnung von Individuen zu erhellen, macht es erforderlich, den mit dem Begriff des ILL's mitgedachten Kulturbegriff noch einmal grundsätzlich zu reflektieren. Die Aussage, ILL beinhalte das Lernen der Kulturen bzw. der ihnen jeweils Angehörigen voneinander und miteinander, bedarf der Präzisierung: weder treten in Prozessen des ILL's jeweils Kulturmonolithen in toto miteinander in Kontakt, noch repräsentieren Individuen die gesamte Kultur ihres Herkunftslandes, noch sind die Kulturen verschiedener Länder deutlich und in allen ihren Bestandteilen voneinander unterschieden, und schließlich sind Kulturen nicht einmal in den Grenzen ihres Geltungsbereichs einheitlich strukturiert, sondern durch zahlreiche soziale. regionale, geschichtliche und topografische Parameter diversifiziert.[3]

Im ILL von Individuen ist also nicht entscheidend wirksam und zu verhandeln, was eine nationale Kultur - angenommen, sie ließe sich definieren - insgesamt an Merkmalen aufweist, sondern *welche dieser Merkmale individuell* zutreffen; es sind mithin nur die in individuellen Lebensprozessen erworbenen Teilrepräsentationen von Kulturen, die miteinander in Beziehung treten und ihrerseits abhängen von der Teilhabe an den Lebensausdrücken und Erfahrungen einer bestimmten Klasse/Schicht/Kaste/Gruppe/Familie usw. in einer historisch gewachsenen lokalen/regionalen Gesellschaft mit einem den Mitgliedern dieser (Teil-) Gesellschaft gemeinsamen und eigentümlichen Ensemble von bestimmten ökonomischen, ethischen, sozialen und kulturellen Normen, Traditionen und Konventionen.[4]

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[3] Vgl. dazu die außerordentlich erhellende Diskussion bei KLEMM (1984), sowie BARKOWSKI (1988).

Ill im außerpädagogischen Kontext ist mithin ein Prozess, bei dem Individuen, auf der Basis ihrer je erworbenen kulturellen Identität, über Medien und im Kontakt zu anderen Individuen mit bestimmten kulturellen Ausdrücken anderer Gesellschaften bekannt werden und sich dazu verhalten. Dieser Prozeß ist von außen weitgehend nicht kontrollierbar und nur bedingt zu steuern.

2.3. Interkulturelles Lernen und Lehren als pädagogische Programmatik

ILL im Sinne einer pädagogischen Programmatik unterscheidet sich davon in einigen zentralen Aspekten:

- es findet statt in definierten und strukturierten Situationen der wiederholten Begegnung bestimmter Individuen;
- es kann sich auf gemeinsame Lernziele beziehen;
- es kann bestimmten Intentionen nachgehen und diese bewußt inszenieren.

ILL als pädagogische Programmatik will also Einfluß nehmen und vertritt Standpunkte; dabei muß sie sich gewahr sein, daß diese Standpunkte zwar einerseits die Basis ihres Programms sind, gleichzeitig aber auch potentielle Lernziele des ILL abgeben und sich diese Standpunkte drittens auch dem gegenübersehen, was im außerpädagogischen Prozessen ILL's an Standpunkten entwickelt wurde und wird. Eine pädagogische Programmatik ILL's, die sich mit dem außerpädagogischen Diskurs nicht mehr verknüpfen läßt, sondern in geschützten Diskussionsräumen den aufrechten Gang interkultureller Menschenliebe zelebriert, würde quasi die Ziele ILL's an den Anfang des Weges setzen und Lernprozesse unmöglich machen.

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[4] Dies alles vorausgesetzt, ist ILL ein Prozess unter Individuen, der nicht einmal als auf die Verschiedenheit der ethnischen bzw. nationaten Herkunft beschränkt und diese voraussetzend gedacht werden muß, sondern sogar eine intragesellschaftliche Variante enthält; so mag etwa die interkulturelle Begegnung zwischen einem deutschen Banker und einem gleichfalls deutschen Punker ungleich exotischer verlaufen, als die zwischen demselben Banker und seinem brasilianischen Geschäftspartner.

2.3.1. Einige pädagogische Prinzipien ILL's

Es lassen sich nun einige zentrale Prinzipien einer Methodik/Didaktik Interkulturellen Lernens benennen, die keineswegs nur appellative und programmatische Qualität haben, sondern sich auch lerntheoretisch und kognitionspsychologisch begründen lassen. Es sind dies

- **Integration durch Einanzipation**
- **Einbeziehung der Muttersprache(n)**
- **Nachbarschaftsorientierung**
- **Handlungsorientierung**
- **Dialogförderung.**[5]

Ich möchte diese Prinzipien i.f. kurz vorstellen und begründen.

Integration durch Emanzipation

Man unterscheidet bei der Beurteilung von pädagogischen Konzepten im Umgang mit sog. ausländischen[6] Kindern und Jugendlichen gewöhnlich zwischen den Modellen Segregation, Assimilation, Bereicherung und Emanzipation (vgl. v.a. FTHENAKIS u.a. 1985). Dabei haben Segregation und Assimilation per definitionem keine interkulturelle Qualität, weil Segregationskonzepte 'die Ausländer' als eigene, ausgegrenzte Gruppen bzw. Individuen beschulen und Assimilationskonzepte, wie schon unter dem Stichwort Ausländerpädagogik ausgeführt, tendenziell Germanisierung betreiben.

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[5] Vgl. auch Barkowski 1992.

[6] Ich spreche gewöhnlich von Kindern bzw. Jugendlichen nichtdeutscher Muttersprache; angemessener wäre vielleicht auch der Begriff 'Inländer ohne deutschen Paß'.

Auch das Bereicherungsmodell, das von einer ausgewogenen und jeweils bilateralen Attraktivität kontaktierender Kulturen/Sprachen usw. ausgeht, kann unter deutschen Bedingungen nicht favorisiert werden, da die in Deutschland mehrheitlich lebenden Minoritätenkulturen ihrem Status nach von deutscher Seite nicht als gleichrangig wahrgenommen werden, so daß Konzepte, die eine gegenseitige sprachliche und kulturelle Annäherung verfolgen, kaum Adressaten finden.[7]

Unter diesen Voraussetzungen geht es vorrangig darum, die vorherrschenden Wahrnehmungs- und Bewertungsstereotype zu irritieren und mittelfristig zu verändern. Genau dies will 'Integration durch Emanzipation' leisten: es berücksichtigt die reale Geringschätzung von Minderheitenkulturen durch die Mehrheitsgesellschaft als Faktum und geht davon aus, daß eine Integration von Minderheiten, die nicht deren Vernachlässigung, Unterdrückung und schließlich Planierung zur Folge haben soll, allererst deren Emanzipation unterstützen muß.

Dazu müssen Konzepte entwickelt werden, die das Selbstbewustsein der Minderheiten stärken, ihre Selbstdarstellung offensiv betreiben und die grundsätzliche Gleichwertigkeit ihrer Sprachen und Kulturen ins Bewußtsein der Mehrheitsgesellschaft bringen.

Dies bedingt, daß diese Emanzipation im Rahmen der alltäglichen Organisation von Bildung und Ausbildung situiert wird, ein Teil davon ist und nicht in ausgegrenzten und ausgrenzenden Sondermaßnahmen geschieht.[8]

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[7] So lassen sich etwa anglophone Kanadier erfolgreich und ohne Nachteile for ihre Muttersprache darauf ein, Französisch 'im Sprachbad', also integriert in eine Gruppe Französisch-sprechender Muttersprachler, zu erwerben - vgl. FTHENAKIS u.a. 1985 und LAMBERT 1977 - wohingegen deutsche Kinder in einer deutsch-türkischen Kita trotz eines konsequent zweisprachigen Konzepts kaum Türkisch lernen, die Kinder türkischer Muttersprache aber durchaus Deutsch (s. dazu PFAFF u.a. 1987 und 1988).

[8] Dies gilt übrigens in gleicher Weise für den außerpädagogischen Bereich, wo die Demonstration kultureller und sprachlicher Eigenständigkeit und politisch-sozialer Handlungsfähigkeit, ja Durchsetzungsfähigkeit ebenso dazu beträgt bzw. beitragen könnte, die Achtung, Anerkennung und Attraktivität der Minderheiten durch die Mehrheitsgesellschaft zu fördern und zu mehren, was wiederum dem pädagogischen Prinzip der Integration durch Emanzipation fraglos den Rücken stärken würde, s. auch dazu ausführlich FTHENAKIS u.a. (1985) sowie SKUTNABB-KANGAS (1983).

Einbeziehung der Muttersprache(n)

Die Forderung nach einer prinzipiellen Einbeziehung der Muttersprache(n) in die methodische und didaktische Gestaltung Interkulturellen Lernens und Lehrens läßt sich zum einen ohne weitere Begründung ableiten aus den oben entwickelten Grundpositionen, denen gemäß (i) Deutschland als multikulturelle Gesellschaft aufzufassen sei und (ii) die darin vertretenen Kulturen als gleichwertig behandelt werden müßten, Auffassungen, die übrigens auch seit längerem zu den Axiomen der EG auf dem Wege zum Staatenbund gehören und explizit das Recht auf Erhalt und Pflege der Muttersprachen einschließen, ihm den Rang eines Menschenrechts zuerkennen. Darüberhinaus begründet sich das Prinzip der Einbeziehung der Muttersprachen zwingend aus kognitionspsychologischen Erkenntnissen und ihrer Bedeutung for schulische Prozesse der Begriffsbildung und -entwicklung:[9] da Begriffsentwicklung im Wege der stufenweisen und aufeinander aufbauenden Ergänzung, Korrektur, Neugewichtung und Neuordnung von begrifflichen Teilkonzepten und approximativen Vorverständnissen geschieht, die zunächst nur in muttersprachlicher Codierung zugänglich und kommunizierbar sind und großenteils auf der Verarbeitung von Erfahrungen beruhen, die ihrerseits durch die Lebenswelten der jeweiligen Herkunftsethnien in ihren spezifischen migrationsbedingten Ausformungen geprägt wurden, bedeutet etwa der Abbruch muttersprachlicher Kommunikationswege bei Schulbeginn einen brutalen Eingriff in die Entwicklungsmöglichkeiten von Kindern nichtdeutscher Muttersprachen und führt zu deren überproportionalem 'Schulversagen', das nun fraglos ein Versagen der Schule und nicht der Schüler/innen indiziert.

Ein weiteres gewichtiges Argument for die Einbeziehung der Mutterprachen ergibt sich aus dem entwicklungspsychologischen Zusammenspiel von Sprach- und Denkentwicklung einerseits und den Beziehungen zwischen Erst- und Zweitspracherwerb andererseits. So ist etwa das, was in der Bilinguismusforschung als 'doppelseitige Halbsprachigkeit' bezeichnet und als Hauptursache für Schulversagen eingeschätzt wird, das prognostizierbare Resultat aus der Tatsache, daß die kontinuierliche Entwicklung des ersten Sprachsystems vor dessen (relativer) Vollendung und Konsolidierung abgebrochen wird und damit beim Aufbau der - bis zu Schulbeginn häufig nur rudimentär entwickelten - zweiten Sprache weder im Sinne einer grundlegenden Einsicht in ein Sprachsystem zur Verfügung steht, noch auch nur als Kommunikationsmittel genutzt wird, um den begrifflichen Transfer vom ersten Sprachmedium in das zweite zu leisten. Vielmehr erfolgt im Regelfall die weitere Sprach- und Begriffsentwicklung ausschließlich in der zweiten Sprache, und zwar auf einem sprachlich-systematischen und begrifflichen Entwicklungsniveau, dessen vorschulische Ausbildung den Kindern anderer Muttersprachen weitgehend fehlt und das sie fundamental überfordert.

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[9] Vgl. dazu u.a. allgemein LIST (1981) und spezieller REHBEIN (1982 u. 1985) und HARNISCH (1991).

Nachbarschaftsorientierung[10]

Ein Konzept ILL's, das seinen Anspruch und seine Aktivitäten in der Schule beginnen und enden läßt, hat wenig Aussicht, etwas in Richtung multikulturelles Zusammenleben zu bewegen, und sei es auch nur in den Köpfen der Schüler/innen. ILL - ich erinnere an seine außerpädagogische Erscheinungsform - ist ein gesamtgesellschaftlicher Prozess, und seine pädagogisch motivierte Variante versteht sich entweder als Teil dieses Prozesses und interagiert auch in diesem Verständnis, oder gerät in die Gefahr, als weltfremdes Steckenpferd der 'letzten Moralisten' wahrgenommen zu werden, das außerhalb der Schule keine Chance hat, Beachtung zu finden und Einfluß zu nehmen.

Nachbarschaftsorientierung als Prinzip Ill's nimmt die außerschulische multikulturelle Realität ernst und setzt sich mit ihr auseinander: mit ihren erfreulichen Ausdrücken und Angeboten vielfältiger Lebensgestaltung und -erfahrung ebenso wie mit ihren aggressiven, ängstlichen oder gleichgültigen Anteilen, ihren Aus- und Abgrenzungspraktiken, ihren wahrgenommenen oder verpaßten Gelegenheiten zum vergleichenden und abwägenden, immer wieder auch genußvollen ethischen, aesthetischen und sinnlichen Dialog.

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[10] Zur Nachbarschaftsorientierung als allg. pädagogisches Prinzip vgl. KLEMENT (1991) und NIGGEMEYER/ZIMMER (1986).

Das multikulturelle Zusammenleben als Generalthema zugrunde gelegt, denke ich bei Nachbarschaftsorientierung an Plakataktionen und Interviews in der Schul- und Wohnumgebung, an den Umgang mit ausländerfeindlichen Parolen an Häuserwänden und U-Bahn-Eingängen, an die Programmgestaltung eines Jugendfreizeitheims, an die Auseinandersetzung mit rassistischen Einlasspraktiken an Discothekentüren; an selbstgeschriebene Theaterstücke, Szenenfolgen oder Rollenspiele, die auch außerhalb der Schule zur Aufführung kommen; an regelmäßige Kontakte mit Flüchtlingen ('Asylbewerbern') und ihren Kindern, oder auch an die Erkundung der Migrationsgeschichte der je eigenen Familie und Recherchen zur Geschichte der Deportation und Vertreibung jüdischer Bevölkerungsanteile anhand alter Schüler/innenlisten der eigenen Schule.

Handlungsorientierung

War mit Nachbarschaftsorientierung vor allem das außerschulische Handlungs*feld* angesprochen, in dem ILL unbedingt auch und mit nicht zu knapp bemessenen Anteilen stattfinden und wohinein es wirken sollte, so meint Handlungsorientierung die grundsätzliche Entscheidung, "die neugierige Auseinandersetzung mit der Wirklichkeit zum Unterrichtsprinzip zu machen" (Barkowski 1992) und sieht sich in der Tradition von FREIRE und FREINET, deren Anliegen und Methoden - bei allen Unterschieden im Detail und durchaus in Berücksichtigung der Verschiedenheit ihrer konkreten sozialen und politischen Ziele und Zielgruppen - übereinstimmend darauf abzielen,

- den Zusammenhang zwischen schulischem Lernen und außerschulischer Realität (wieder)herzustellen;

- die Atomisierung der in Fächer zerschlagenen Realität rückgängig zu machen und Wirklichkeitsausschnitte komplex zu verhandeln; schulisch-akademische Lehr-/Lernkonventionen zugunsten von Methoden abzuschaffen, die den Möglichkeiten und Fähigkeiten der Lernenden abgeschaut sind;

- Lernwege zu inszenieren, die den Aufbau eines selbständigen Erkundungs- und Urteilsvermögens unterstützen und so die Abhängigkeit von Lehrer/inne/n relativieren und abbauen.[11]

Dabei dienen die genannten Lern- und Lehrweisen zusammengenommen dem Ziel, Lernenden[12] eine Kompetenz zu vermitteln, die sie in die Lage versetzt, ihre Interessenlage und ihre Lebensituation wahrzunehmen , zu hinterfragen und ggf. zielgerecht zu verändern, bzw. deren Veränderung in Angriff zu nehmen.

Neben dieser auf Selbstbewußtsein und politisch-soziale Handlungskompetenz abzielenden Qualität, sind dem Prinzip Handlungsorientierung einige Eigenschaften implizit, die gleichzeitig fördernde Faktoren der weiteren Begriffs- und Sprachentwicklung darstellen, m.a.W., Handlungsorientierung gehört auch in lernpsychologischer Hinsicht zu den Stützen motivierten und erfolgreichen Lernens: Handlungsorientiertes Lernen bewährt sich dabei, - gerade auch im Hinblick auf unbestreitbare Schwächen des schulisch-akademischen, Sprachkenntnisse und Vorerfahrungen immer schon voraussetzenden Lernens, - vor allem in folgenden Hinsichten:

- Handlungsorientierte Lernabläufe garantieren, daß durch die Organisation gemeinsamer Erfahrungen eine relative Chancengleichheit gegenüber Lernangeboten erreicht wird und nicht die außerschulischen Vorerfahrungen und Vorkenntnisse aber Gelingen oder Mißglücken von Lernfortschritten entscheiden. Dies gilt gerade auch for den Aufbau und Ausbau der sprachlichen Kompetenz: so kann etwa die Erweiterung des Lexikons zum Zwecke der kommunikativen Verfügbarkeit eines Wirklichkeitsausschnittes auf der Basis handlungsorientierter Lernabläufe sehr direkt erfolgen, da Denkinhalte und Sprache, Sachverhalte und Bezeichnungen nicht voneinander getrennt, sondern quasi synchron vermittelt werden können, was insbesondere verhindert, daß sprachliche Bezeichnungen mit sehr unpräzisen und vagen begrifflichen Inhalten einhergehen.[13]

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[11] Vgl. dazu u.a. ZANDEE (1976); DIETRICH (1982) und GUDJONS (1981).

[12] Mit der WahL des allgemeinen Begriffs 'Lernende' soll hier nicht unterschlagen werden, daß beide Pädagogen und pädagogische Konzepte sich an Unterprivilegierte richten und sich deren Emanzipation verpflichtet haben; vielmehr verweist der 'neutrale' Begriff auf die Tatsache, daß die Methoden über die gemeinten Adressaten hinaus verallgemeinerbare - und m.E. überlegene - pädagogische Wege weisen, übrigens gerade und immer wieder für solche Lernende, um deren Emanzipation es geht.

- Die über handlungsorientiertes Lernen erreichbare Beteiligung der komplexen Sinnesausstattung des Menschen bewirkt eine intensivere und differenziertere Verbindung von begrifflichen Inhalten und ihren sprachlichen Ausdrücken im Gedächtnis, was wiederum einerseits der Präzision einer begrifflich-sprachlichen Kommunikationseinheit zugute kommt, andererseits die Behaltensleistungen nachhaltig erhöht.

- Handlungsorientierte Lernabläufe gehen mit vielfältiger und großenteils ungesteuerter Kommunikation zwischen den Beteiligten einher und provozieren damit die Anwendung und Erweiterung des vorhandenen Sprachvermögens.

Darüber hinaus kommen den nichtdeutschen Muttersprachen in ungesteuerten Kommunikationsverläufen - wie bislang leider fast nur in den Schul*pausen* beobachtbar - ganz andere Funktionen zu als im traditionellen, einsprachig-deutschen Unterricht, so daß der emanzipatorische Effekt, wie er durch die Verfolgung der vorgenannten Prinzipien tendenziell erreicht werden kann, durch handlungsorientiertes Lernen weiter verstärkt wird: Kindern nichtdeutscher Muttersprache erlaubt die Verwendung ihrer Muttersprache(n), im Umgang mit dem jeweiligen Handlungsfeld auf ihrem schon erreichten Niveau zu kommunizieren, sich selbst dabei als kompetent und ihre Muttersprache als funktionsgerecht und nützlich wahrzunehmen und gleichzeitig ihre Zweisprachigkeit nicht als Bürde, sondern als Vorzug zu erfahren, und die deutschen Kinder werden umgekehrt mit der funktionellen Gleichwertigkeit nichtdeutscher Muttersprachen konfrontiert und zeigen sich womöglich von der Zweisprachigkeit ihrer Mitschüler/innen beeindruckt.

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[13] Vagheit der Begriffe ist offensichtlich ein zentrales Merkmal zweitsprachlicher Kompetenz in Fällen, wo solche klaren Verweisungszusammenhänge im Lernprozess fehten, wie u.a. Untersuchungen von SCHWENK (1988), HEPSÖYLER/LIEBE-HARKORT (1988) und KUHS (1989) belegen.

Dialogförderung

Das Prinzip der *Dialogförderung* greift die eingangs zum Kulturbegriff angemerkten Differenzierungen sowie den Zusammenhang von außerpädagogischem ILL und ILL als pädagogischer Programmatik auf und sieht seine Aufgabe darin, den Dialog zwischen den Angehörigen kontaktierender Kulturen bzw. Ethnien in Gang zu bringen, aufrechtzuerhalten und entwickeln zu helfen.

Natürlich meint 'Dialog' dabei nicht den small talk, das beliebige, unverbindliche, nichts-sagende Gespräch, sondern setzt Engagement und Offenheit voraus, *sich zu äußern und über einander ins Gespräch zu kommen*, mit dem Ziel, irgendwann vielleicht sogar bereit zu sein, die eigene Persönlichkeit mit ihren kulturellen und ethnischen Hintergründen, ihren Zweifeln und Gewißheiten, Ansichten und Emotionen, Erfahrungen und Lebensplänen miteinzubringen. Fraglos ist es dahin ein langer Weg, der nicht hastig beschritten und ungeduldig verkürzt werden kann, will man nicht das Ziel gleich schon wieder in Gefahr bringen.

3. Dialogförderung und Interkulturelles Lernen - einige Anregungen und Erfahrungen

Ich möchte nun im folgenden einige Anregungen und Erfahrungen dazu mitteilen, wie Dialogförderung in Unterrichtszusammenhängen geschehen kann. Folgende Themen, Aktionen und Sprachsorten halte ich derzeit for geeignet, Interkulturelle Gruppenprozesse im Sinne des Miteinander-ins-Gespräch-Kommens besonders zu befördern - (hundert oder tausend andere wird es darüber hinaus geben, die ähnlich geeignet sind):

- **assoziative Begriffe und Schlüsselwörter**
- **Stereotypen des gesellschaftlichen und privaten Lebens**
- **Redensarten und Abzählreime, Schimpfwörter und Kosenamen: 'der Volksmund'**
- **Legenden und Volksmärchen, Fabeln und Geschichten**
- **Der politische Witz**
- **Themenzentrierte Ländervergleiche**
- **Who's who in Geschichte und Gegenwart**
- **Körpersprache(n)**

Diesen Anregungen ist eins gemeinsam: Sie haben Schlüsselfunktion, indem sie zentrale Bereiche des Lebens, der Erfahrungen und Traditionen, Ideologien und Wertsysteme aufschlieben und damit Gelegenheit geben, darüber informierend und vergleichend ins Gespräch zu kommen.

Beginnen wir mit den **assoziativen Begriffen und Schlüsselwörtern**. Ich verstehe darunter Themen, die so offen formuliert sind, daß sie sehr unterschiedliche Reaktionen und Bearbeitungsweisen zulassen. Ein solcher assoziativer Begriff wäre z.B. 'Familie', also nicht 'meine Familie', nicht 'Familie in Indonesien', nicht 'die Familie als Keimzelle der demokratischen Gesellschaft'.

Erfahrungen mit Schlüsselwörtern - im Sinne Freires - konnte ich vor allem mit mehrsprachigen Grundschulklassen sammeln, wo ich Gruppengespräche u.a. zu folgenden Begriffen miterlebt habe: 'ungerecht', 'Angst', und 'verliebt'. Hochgradig interkulturell und kulturkontrastiv verlief dabei vor allem das Gespräch zum Schlüsselwort 'ungerecht', das nicht etwa, wie wir - Lehrerin, Studentinnen und ich - angenommen hatten, Fragen der Ausländerdiskriminierung aufwarf, sondern ganz andere kulturelle Markierungen - wenn es denn solche waren - zutage brachte: die deutschen Kinder diskutierten nämlich 'ungerecht' fast ausschließlich an Beispielen materieller Bevor- bzw. Benachteiligung, während die Kinder türkischer Mutter - sprache vor allem Fragen der geschlechtsbedingten Benachteiligung (Junge - Mädchen, Bruder - Schwester, Väter - Mutter) einbrachten, wobei Erfahrungen in der Familie sehr tabulos angesprochen wurden, was wir gleichfalls nicht erwartet hätten.

Die Freire'sche Methode der Bearbeitung von Schlüsselwörtern und -situationen erwies sich dabei einmal mehr als ein außerordentlich erfolgreicher und in seiner Offenheit wenig prädeterminierender Zugang, der der Intention eines interkulturellen Dialogs außerordentlich entgegenkommt.

Als ein weiterer Einstieg für interkulturelle Gespräche eignen sich **Stereotypen des gesellschaftlichen und privaten Lebens**, gebunden an Situationen wie Begrüssung und Verabschiedung, Danken und Schenken, Geburtstag und Hochzeit, aber auch an Situationen wie: 'einen Mann ansprechen, in den man sich verliebt hat'. Viele dieser Situationen kennen dabei auch sprachliche Rituale, wenn man etwa ans Begrüßen oder Kondolieren denkt, bei anderen stehen Fragen der gesellschaftlichen Akzeptanz im Vordergrund, die ja bekanntermaßen schon im selben Land außerordentlich differenziert und gruppenspezifisch definiert sein kann. Aber natürlich lassen sich Unterschiede und Ähnlichkeiten auch sehr unpretentiös am Alltagsgeschehen festmachen, etwa an der Schilderung normaler Tagesabläufe, von Gesprächen, Eß- und Trinkgewohnheiten, Rollenverteilung in der Familie u.ä.m. Ein Austausch darüber, wie solche Stereotypen gesellschaftlichen und privaten Lebens in unterschiedlichen Ländern sprachlich und verhaltensmäßig ausgeprägt sind, ist gleichermaßen unterhaltsam wie gelegentlich tiefgründig und führt in der Regel zu vielen neuen Themen, die ihrerseits wieder in den weiteren Unterricht integriert werden können bzw. könnten.

Ein ähnlicher Ansatz, ist die Beschäftigung mit dem, was ich den Volksmund nennen will, also mit **Redensarten und Abzählreimen, Schimpfwörtern und Kosenamen**. Fraglos sagen die Inhalte von Sinnsprüchen, gerade auch wenn man viele und geläufige davon versammelt, eine Menge über ihre Erfinder und Benutzer, und die in Sinnsprüchen und Redensarten gebrauchten Bilder verstecken nicht selten Informationen aber ihre historisch gesellschaftlichen Ursprünge, wenn man z.B. an einen Sinnspruch denkt 'wie der Herr, so's Gescherr' oder eine Redensart wie 'in der Tinte sitzen'. Mit den häufigen aus der Tierwelt entlehnten Schimpf- und Kosenamen ist es ähnlich, und naturlich ist es so interessant wie amüsant, darüber zu reden, ob man im selben Sinne wie bei uns auch in Nigeria ein 'Ochse' wäre, ob man auch dort seinen Liebsten 'Bärchen' nennen kann oder ob frau auch anderenorts den Beginn einer zärtlichen Stunde mit den Worten einleiten könnte: 'Setz dich zu mir mein Kamel', wie es Beduinenfrauen auf ihrem Lebenshintergrund und ohne jeden Spott gelegentlich tun sollen. Um über Sinnsprüche und Redensarten miteinander ins interkulturelle Gespräch zu kommen, ist etwa folgender Ablauf denkbar: Man fragt die Gruppenmitglieder nach deutschen Sinnsprüchen und Redensarten, die sie schon kennen, schreibt sie gemeinsam auf, diskutiert deren Bedeutung und gegebenenfalls die Etymologie dieser Bedeutung - letzteres vielleicht erst dann, wenn man diese Sprichwörter wieder aufnimmt, denn häufig ist man dazu ja spontan gar nicht in der Lage, auch als Lehrer nicht - und fordert die Lerner auf, zu Hause darüber nachzudenken, welche muttersprachlichen Wendungen den besprochenen deutschen Wendungen entsprechen, zu welchen Wendungen sie nichts Vergleichbares in ihrer Sprache kennen, und vielleicht auch noch zu überlegen, ob sie muttersprachliche Wendungen kennen, die etwa das Gegenteil bedeuten. Eine weitere Aufgabenvariante könnte sein, muttersprachliche Wendungen zu finden, die eines der bedeutungstragenden Worte aus den deutschen Wendungen enthalten. In allen Fällen ist es auch Aufgabe, diese muttersprachlichen Wendungen möglichst wortnah zu übersetzen und stilistisch in Richtung Sinnspruch, Redensart zu bearbeiten. Das Ergebnis einer solchen Hausaufgabe wird dann Gegenstand der Gruppendiskussion.

Ein weiteres Feld von Gelegenheiten, miteinander ins interkulturelle Gespräch zu kommen, bieten die **Volksmärchen und Legenden, Geschichten und Fabeln**. Ich sage absichtlich Volksmärchen, weil es mir darum geht, über Märchen zu sprechen, die in der Erzähltradition, lebendig geblieben sind, und von denen man deswegen annehmen kann, daß sie für die Ethnien auch eine aktuelle Bedeutung bzw. Funktion haben, über die sich spekulieren bzw. diskutieren läßt.

Man kann beispielsweise die Frage stellen, ob es Märchen ähnlichen Inhalts, wie er in 'Rotkäppchen' vorliegt, auch in den Kulturen der anderen Gruppenmitglieder gibt, und anregen, daß diese auf der Basis einer von den Teilnehmern zu erarbeitenden deutschen Fassung erzählt werden. Eine weitere Möglichkeit: Die Teilnehmer erzählen Märchen, die einen ebenso hervorragenden Platz in der Erzähltradition ihrer Kulturen einnehmen wie eben das 'Rotkäppchen' in der deutschen, und man diskutiert vergleichend über Gehalt und Struktur dieser Märchen.

Ein weiteres Thema, das mir für das interkulturelle Gespräch unter Erwachsen geeignet erscheint, ist **der politische Witz**. Man könnte natürlich sagen, der Witz überhaupt, aber ich denke, wenn nicht themenspezifisch eingeengt wird, passiert nichts weiter, als daß man sich gegenseitig Witze erzählt, und es wird andererseits kaum möglich sein, daß man von allen vertretenen Ethnien eine nach Struktur und Thema repræsentative Anzahl von Witzen erhält, um diese dann vergleichend zu analysieren. Ganz zu schweigen davon, daß mir ein solches Projekt für eine interessengemischte Gruppe auch gar zu philologisch-akademisch vorkäme. Andererseits ist das Thema 'der politische Witz' auch nicht so eng zu fassen, daß man darunter nur Witze über Staatsvertreter und Parteien versteht, also über politische Prominenz, sondern es gehören dazu natürlich auch Witze, die das gesellschaftliche Miteinander wiedergeben bzw. reflektieren. In jedem Fall sind solche Witze ein attraktiver Einstieg, um über politische Verhältnisse in verschiedenen Ländern Informationen zu erhalten und über sie ins Gespräch zu kommen, es braucht aber auch eine kleinere Vorbereitungszeit und wahrscheinlich ein knappes Set guter deutscher politischer Witze, um Appetit zu machen.

Waren die vorangegangenen Einstiege vor allem *sprachsortenorientiert* und führten auf diese Weise zu Themen und Situationen, so gehen die verbleibenden eher den umgekehrten Weg.

Themenzentrierte Ländervergleiche etwa gelten dem Austausch über spezifische Merkmale, Eigenschaften und Organisationsformen der physikalischen und sozialen Gestalt der verschiedenen Herkunftsländer und lassen sich organisieren als fiktive 'Journalistenrunden', 'Expertentreffen' oder einfach als roundtable-Gespräche der Gruppenmitglieder, ohne Rollendistanz. Auch hierzu empfiehlt sich, die Gruppenmitglieder die Themen selbst bestimmen oder doch wenigstens auswählen zu lassen und eine Vorbereitungszeit einzuräumen, um sich sachkundig(er) zu machen, denn natürlich ist man nicht in der Lage, sich zu beliebigen Themen spontan und gleichzeitig kompetent zu äußern. Einige mögliche Themen: *Klima/Jahreszeiten, Krankenversorgung, Schul- und Berufsausbildung, Kinder-*

erziehung, Homosexualität und Gesellschaft, Kriminalität, Urlaub, Rolle der Gewerkschaften, Parteienprofile u.v.a.m.

Einen anderen Ansatz - mit thematischen Überschneidungen zu den Ländervergleichen - bieten Gespräche über **Who's who in Geschichte und Gegenwart,** die sich durchaus gelegentlich auch in Form von Gruppenratespielen, wie sie etwa das Fernsehen inszeniert, gestalten lassen.

Dabei lassen Fragen zur nationalen und internationalen 'Prominenz' aus Mythologie und Geschichte, Kunst und Sport, Politik und Medien zum einen die Erfahrung machen, wie wenig man von anderen Ländern weiß und wie nationalistisch die eigenen Perspektiven trotz vermeintlicher Weltläufigkeit noch immer sind, zum anderen auch, wie interessenbezogen, bündnisorientiert und regional selbst jene Elitenvertreter wahrgenommen werden, denen jeder in seiner Gesellschaft das Etikett 'international' zuerkennt.

Als eine weitere Gelegenheit zum interkulturellen Dialog bieten sich die **Körpersprache(n)** an, die in einer Teilnehmergruppe vertreten sind, wobei die Bedeutungen wieder zunächst erraten/eingeschätzt werden sollten, bevor sich Erklärungen anschlieben. Interessant dabei auch, welche Bedeutung Körpersprachen in ihrem Gesamtbild für die Herausbildung von Hypothesen und (Vor-) - Urteilen über 'Nationalcharaktere' haben mögen.

4. 'Wo ich wohne. wie ich lebe' - die Integration der Prinzipien ILL's in einem Projekt mit Grundschülern deutscher und nichtdeutscher Muttersprache[14]

Ich möchte abschliebend eine Projektidee referieren, die auf einem in ähnlicher Weise tatsächlich durchgeführten Projekt beruht, aber die dabei gemachten Erfahrungen - positive wie negative - in der 'Neuauflage' zu berücksichtigen versucht. Diese Projektidee soll auch deswegen den Abschluß der Überlegungen bilden, weil sie m.E. die vorgestellten Prinzipien Interkulturellen Lernens - Integration durch Emanzipation, Einbeziehung der Muttersprache(n), Nachbarschaftsorientierung,

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[14] Die Projektidee wurde in dieser Fassung erstveröffentlicht in Barkowski (1992).

Handlungsorientierung und Dialogförderung - überzeugend berücksichtigt und gleichzeitig explizite Anteile von DaZ-Erwerb und -Vermittlung enthält.

Die Projektidee verbindet das Anliegen der besseren lokalen Orientierung in der Schul- und Wohnumgebung mit dem Interesse an besseren Kontakten unter den Schülern und läßt sich etwa ab 3. Schuljahr realisieren. Zum Ablauf:

5 Gruppen von je 4-5 Kindern besuchen reihum jede ihrer Familien zuhause, ausgerüstet mit einem unkomplizierten Fotoapparat (Autofokus) mit Blitz - vorrichtung. Für die Dokumentation der Besuche stehen ihnen je Familie ein 36er Schwarz-Weiß-Film zur Verfügung. Vorgegeben sind die Motive: *Straßenschild, Straße, Wohnhaus, Wohnungstür, Familienmitglieder, Lieblingsspielzeug.*

Im übrigen können sie die Motive frei auswählen. Die Begegnung mit den Familienmitgliedern wird durch die gemeinsame Erarbeitung eines 'Interview - leitfadens' und darauf basierende dialogische Rollenspiele sprachlich und inhaltlich vorbereitet. Nach ca. 3 Wochen - die Gruppen werden teilweise von Lehrer/innen, teilweise von Eltern begleitet - kann die Erkundungsphase, inklusive Entwicklung und Vergrößerung der Bilder (m schuleigenen Fotolabor) abgeschlossen werden. Mithilfe der Bilder stellen nun die Kinder in der Gesamtgruppe einander ihre Lebensumgebung und Familien vor. Für jedes Kind wird dabei eine zweisprachige Wandzeitung erstellt mit kommentierten Fotos der Wohnumgebung, Familien - situation usw. (s. vorgegebene Motive), und zwar in der 3. Person, etwa so:

"Das ist Adile Sentürk." "Das ist ihr Bruder Orhan." usw.

In einem weiteren Durchgang stellt sich jedes Kind selber vor und ergänzt den Text 'seiner' Wandzeitung:

"Das bin ich." "Das ist mein Bruder." usw.

Anhand der kommentierten Fotos wird die Realisierung der Possessivfunktion in den anwesenden Sprachen verglichen.[15] Anschließend werden Regeln für die Bildung und den Gebrauch des deutschen Possessivpronomens gemeinsam herausgefunden und insbesondere der Fall der doppelten Genusmarkierung:

Aslan: sein-e Taschenlampe;
Ayse: ihr-e Taschenlampe.

isoliert, bewußt gemacht und in Übungssequenzen verfestigt.

Anschließend wird ein zwei- (oder mehr)sprachiges Klassenbuch zusammengestellt, in dem sich die Kinder vorstellen (s.o.) und vielleicht noch etwas darüber schreiben, zeichnen oder collagieren, was sie besonders gerne und was sie überhaupt nicht gerne machen (ca. 2 Seiten, DIN A 4, pro Kind).

Was dabei sprachlich und sozial, im Sinne ILL's passiert: die Kinder interagieren in verschiedenen Muttersprachen; werden einander situationsbedingt zu Sprachhelfern und Übersetzern; lernen die Sprachen anderer als existenziell nützliche und funktionierende Komunikationsmittel kennen; erweitern ihr Lexikon, in unserem Beispiel auch ihre grammatische Kompetenz; werden an den bewußten Vergleich von Redemitteln in verschiedenen Sprachen herangeführt, gleichzeitig kommen sie in Kontakt mit ihren jeweiligen Lebenswelten, lernen, wo man sich besuchen und treffen kann, schließen erste Freundschaften, verlieren die Scheu vor den zunächst unvertrauten, vielleicht sogar unbekannten Sprach- und Kulturwelten. Und sie handeln gemeinsam, bis hin zu einem gemeinsamen Produkt, auf das sie gemeinsam stolz sind.

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[15] In dem realen Projekt wären es Deutsch und Türkisch gewesen, nur leider haben wir damals - 1981 - die systematische Einbeziehung der Muttersprache noch vernachlässigt.

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Ethnicity, identity, and language

Jacob L. Mey
Odense University / Northwestern University

In recent times, the question of *ethnic identity* has gained attention in ways that have struck many as irrational, not to say outright wrong. Among the characteristics of ethnicity, language occupies a prominent place. The present article asks: 'What determines ethnic identity?' and: 'Who can define a person's ethnic and language rights?'

I claim that the notion of 'ethnic', as it appears in these debates, is in reality a *decontextualized* and consequently devalued concept. To put ethnicity and its characterizing features back where they belong, in their proper context, we must realize the importance of the socio-economic and political structures under which we exercise our ethnicity and use our language. Two pitfalls have to be avoided: one is the concept of ethnicity as an absolute value, to be maintained at all costs, including civil war and its concomitant atrocities, in the name of some higher 'cause'; the other is the 'gentrification' of ethnic values, which tries to 'save' ethnic cuisine and endangered languages without paying attention to the people behind the ethnic and linguistic backdrop, and their problems.

> *"Por isso podemos falar de uma identidade cultural*
> *come o legado mais representativo e mais precioso de um povo."*
>
> (Therefore, we can say that a people's most distinctive,
> most precious legacy is their cultural identity).
>
> Juan M. Ossio, *Análisis social e crítica.*
> (Text engraved on the 'Memorial de la América Latina'
> Monument in Barra Funda, São Paulo, Brazil)

0. Introduction: A Small Country in Scandinavia

Last year, in Denmark, one could see several picture ads of a special kind. They are all distinguished by the familiar features of Denmark's famous fairy-tale teller and poet, Hans Christian Andersen, and they all carry the caption: *I Danmark er jeg født...* ('In Denmark, I was born...'), the first line of a song that every Dane knows by heart and is happy to sing whenever the occasion presents itself. The song is an expression of the pride and happiness that go with belonging to Denmark, *Danmark mit fædreland*, as the refrain has it '(Denmark my fatherland').

As such. the song is typical of a Romantic feeling of belonging to one's *Heimat*, that untranslatable Germanic concept encompassing everything from mom's kitchen to the tombs of one's ancestors and the tree under which we kissed our first love. A rather innocent piece of Romantic sentimental poetry, one could say, hadn't it been for the fact that the poet precisely was Hans Christian Andersen.

What is interesting here, is the way the advertisement uses this famous line. Below the portrait of the poet, gazing into the distant land of fairy-tales, one reads the sentence: *men det er de fremmede ikke* ('but the foreigners are not'). Hans Christian Andersen is being used as a symbol, as a pretext for defining 'Danishness' against 'being foreign', the fact of having been born in Denmark clearly being that which distinguishes the *real* people, the sons and daughters of the country, from those who have no birth rights in Denmark (and, one might add, not many rights at all, apart from paying their taxes).

What we see in Denmark today, is the establishment of *ethnic identity* as a means of creating a line of division, a 'demarcation line' (maybe more akin to a Berlin Wall), behind which the 'good' people can defend themselves against the bad influences from the outside. One of the main factors establishing this ethnic identity is language; this will be the topic of the next section.

1. Ephraimites and Gileadites: A Story of Shibboleths

There is a well-known story in the Bible about how the Gileadites, under the command of Jephthah, defeated the Ephraimites, and blocked their return to their native territory by posting guards at the only possible--not to say (af)fordable--crossings of the Jordan river. The guards were supposed to ask the prospective crossers to pronounce the word *shibboleth*. Those who did not pronounce it correctly, saying *sibboleth* instead, were cut down on the spot: truly a case of 'Quick Justice West Of The Jordan'.[1]

In the case of the Ephraimites, there was undoubtedly an emphasis on language, as a decisive factor in establishing a person's ethnic identity; however, this emphasis was not on language as a whole, but only on a tiny detail of pronunciation--a detail that one could have missed, even though one was a true-blue Israelite, but merely plagued by some speech defect of a kind that certainly was no less common in those days than it is among modern speakers of English or other languages.[2]

In the following story, similarly taken from the Bible, the emphasis is on language as such, or rather, on a person's *speech* as such, to wit: St. Peter's in the courtyard of the High Priest. After Jesus had been captured and taken away, the hapless Prince of the Apostles found himself warming his hands at the bonfire which the servants had made in the courtyard (spring nights can be cold in Jerusalem). And while Peter was standing there, one of the maids said to him: "You are also one of them". Which Peter, of course (and in accordance with Jesus' prophecy a few hours earlier), started to deny forcefully. But the people around him insisted: "Oh yes, you are, too: your language gives you away": *lingua tua manifestum te facit* (Matth. 26:73). So there he was, manifested by his language as belonging to a particular, not too respected, ethnic group, the Galileans, and moreover associated with one who was on the point of being tried for high treason and subsequently executed.

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[1] The story is found in the book of *Judges* (12:5-6). Here is the text, in the King James Version: "And the Gileadites took the passages of Jordan before the Ephraimites: and it was so, that when those Ephraimites which were escaped said, Let me go over; that the men of Gilead said unto him, Art thou an Ephraimite? If he said, Nay; Then said they unto him, Say now Shibboleth: and he said Sibboleth: for he could not frame to pronounce it right. Then they took him, and slew him at the passages of Jordan: and there fell at that time of the Ephraimites forty and two thousand."

[2] The present author was sent to a speech therapist at the mature age of 5 because he was unable to correctly pronounce his *s*'es!

There are several facets to this story of sham and betrayal that make it apposite to our discussion. First of all, St. Peter had no chance of hiding his 'identity': even though the bystanders (who mainly were the local soldiers and servants, plus the occasional rubberneckers and gapers), probably could not boast of any higher education or linguistic training, still they were quite certain, and insisted that they had heard him out.

Second, poor Peter couldn't have said that many things while standing at the fire: probably, he was just as aware as the others that his speech indeed was a tell-tale *shibboleth*, and he certainly had no intention of advertising, even implicitly, his affiliation with the Man from Nazareth. The few words that he did speak, however (probably just the obligatory exchange of some common remarks about the cold weather, or maybe even about all the commotion that night), were sufficient for the people to determine his accent, and thus his *ethnicity*. So, no matter how much force Peter put in denying his affiliation with the Nazarene the first time around ('I don't know that man'), this, as well as his subsequent attempts at distancing himself from Jesus, were unsuccessful, precisely because of the language problem.

Third, whereas St. Peter could not maintain his non-Galileanness in the face of the overwhelming evidence of his dialect, the bystanders, on the other hand, had all the rights on their side. St. Peter simply couldn't say two words without giving away his ethnic belonging; an impression which tallies well with the picture we have of this Apostle as a little cultivated, probably even illiterate, fisherman from one of the most backward reaches of a remote sector of the Judaic world. The bystanders, on their side, were able to define Peter's identity as foreign, while being safely ensconced in their own, true native identity as Jerosolymites (or at least Judeans), hence endowed with the proper variety of the language (the 'prestige dialect', we would say in present-day terms). So, the woman who spotted him had been quite right and she knew it, hence she insisted, as did the others, following her example (women usually lead the men when it comes to spotting accents and speech characteristics). Peter could not pretend that he was a native speaker of anything but his own, lowbrow rural brand of Aramaic (not even of Hebrew; see below, footnote 6): even if he had tried (supposing he had some working knowledge of Jerusalem speech), he would not have been able to convince the natives.

One is tempted, at this point, to bring up the question of a person's 'ethnic language rights': can I pretend to be a true son or daughter of a nation if I don't speak the language? And conversely: if I speak the language, can I then pretend not to belong to the ethnic group whose language I speak? Who owns my language, and who can define it, and through it, me? I will come back to this question below, section 5; see also Mey (1985) for more discussion.

2. Ethnicity and Identity

2.1 Ethnic and Ethnic

The term 'ethnic' is used in a variety of contexts and surroundings, some of which seem like macabre contradictions *in adiecto*. From 'ethnic food' to 'ethnic cleansing', there is a world of difference. The mere fact that the seemingly neutral term 'ethnic' (from Greek *éthnos*, 'nation', hence meaning 'that which is related to a nation, to a people'), can assume such radically different and incompatible meanings, depending on the context of use, should alert us to the possibility that something may be wrong with a simplistic use of the term. And what is true for the term 'ethnic' holds also for 'ethnicity', the term that we use to denote a supposed ethnic identity. The terms thus betray themselves as go-betweens, as *voces mediae*, as the Latins used to say. Language demonstrates its turncoat role in this 'identity conflict' by willingly lending itself to either side of the debate. There are no 'good guys', just as there are no 'bad guys'. Language has us all by the tail: we're all in the same boat, or so we think.

2.2. Defining Ethnic Identity

At this point, let's stop up and ask ourselves: What is the true nature of this feeling of 'ethnic identity', of belonging to a particular ethnic group? The Italian ethnographer Dario Durando has recently written an insightful article on the rediscovery of 'ethnic identity' in present-day Europe, and he offers the following definition of ethnic identity:

"*the sense of ethnic belonging* [is] an ethnic identification generated by a specific system of cultural production, cemented by a common language among the members of an ethnic group" (Durando 1993:24; italics in original).

In this definition, the emphasis rests firmly on the fact that humans, in order to live 'economically' (or in fact, live at all), depend on the production by which they provide themselves with the necessities of life, both spiritual and material. Thus, it would be wrong to reverse the order of the two factors mentioned in the above quote; one could not say, e.g., that the ethnic identity was generated by the language, and subsequently cemented by the production of, among other things, culture. But even so, the matter is not as clear-cut as one might be led to expect, judging from Durando's definition.

2.3. A Common Language?

First of all, in the context of ethnicity, Durando's 'common language', in most of the senses in which it occurs, represents but a tiny fraction of what we normally consider to be the full range of human linguistic capabilities. We talk about an 'accent', as if it were the whole language. But even though the phonetics of a particular language, let alone the phonetics of one single of its sounds, would seem to be minor factors in our evaluation of speakers, it turns out, time and again, that these *minima linguistica* have an enormous popular appeal. One need only think of the inordinate amount of time and effort that is spent in teaching students of foreign languages the 'right' pronunciation--truly a Sisyphean effort, which in 99% of the cases is unsuccessful, if the goal of such teaching is the 'perfect' Oxford or General American or Bostonian or whatever accent in English, the 'educated common language' in Dutch, or the 'educated East Norwegian' norm in Norway. A non-native accent will always be remarked, and commented on, and in especially unfortunate circumstances, be used against the speaker, as in the Biblical case.[3]

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[3] Not long ago, I visited the house of a friend in Evanston. His eight-year old son, Mark, had not exchanged more than three sentences with me before he asked his father: 'What kind of accent does he have?' Even if there was no doubt about the fact that I was speaking English, what was interesting was not the language I was speaking as such, but the way I spoke that language: my 'accent'.

2.4. Different Danishes

Even in the case of a small linguistic community such as Denmark, the notion of a 'common language', as invoked by Durando in his definition, does not seem to impose itself naturally. Danish has a total speaking population of about 5 million; but even in this diminutive speech community, variation abounds. The interest of people in classifying, and accepting or rejecting, people on the basis of their speech, measures quite up to what one sees in other, larger communities. In fact, and almost paradoxically, the small community is more stringent in its maintenance of some 'invisible norm' than is the larger one. So, even though Danish officially is considered one 'common' language, taught in the schools and spoken by everybody, in real life there are as many 'Danishes' (of the non-edible kind) as there are groups of Danes, or maybe even single Danish-speaking individuals.[4]

Furthermore, not all Danishes are equal, or if they are, in theory (official school guidelines for the teaching of the mother tongue specify that even Copenhagen speech, the prestige dialect, is 'a dialect like all others'!), some are clearly more equal than others. Still, when we discuss 'Danish' as an abstract language, rather than considering its numerous existing manifestations, the Danish dialects, we immediately slip into this patently false notion of 'a' common language. Clearly, Durando's definition, with its emphasis on the 'common language', leaves something out. In the next section, I will try to remedy this deficit.

3. Language and Identity

3.1. Language and 'Personality'

Language relates to society inasmuch as it is an expression of humans' needs to congregate socially and build and develop their world. Language is not just the expression of the individual's 'soul', or 'inner self', or whatever; it is, first and foremost, the way society expresses itself through the mouthpiece of its members, so to speak.

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[4] Linguists have of course always known this, and coined words for such varieties: from local dialects--the kind the French contemptuously call *patois*--to group dialects to individual 'idiolects'.

Without going into details of a psychological or sociological nature, let me here just single out a fundamental misunderstanding as regards the role of language in the construction of the person. Whereas it is society that forges the connection between people and their language, and in doing so, creates their 'identity' as individuals, we tend to idealize our personal identity, our 'personhood', and its hallmark, our 'personal' speech, as independent qualities, reminiscent of that other, equally ill-defined concept, 'personality'. We do this notwithstanding the fact that most of us would be at a loss to give a motivated description of what really constitutes the person as a member of society and as an individual in his or her own rights.

3.2. The Dialectics of Language

While the individual language user thus perceives language as the expression of a unique personality that cannot be duplicated or replaced by anything else, in short, a personal 'property', this language is, at the same time, the property of the community. A truly 'individual', strictly ego-centered language would not be understood by anybody. The context which makes language possible is also the context which allows the individual to be him/herself, and use her/his language in accordance with one's personal wishes. The user wants language at the same time to be an expression of independent values, and an individual, person-dependent expression of the self.

The dialectic of this split is based in societal reality: on the one hand, language can only be used in a social context, yet on the other, we want our language to be our 'own', just as we ourselves are both socially founded and individually oriented. We see how, on the one hand, the individual is necessarily part of a context, 'contextualized', while he or she, on the other, endeavors to break out of that context in *decontextualized*, individualistic behavior.

3.3. Decontextualizing Society

The individual members of society not only perceive, and suffer, a 'personality split' in their language; the dialectics of language are based on the hard facts of the political and economic realities that condition our living. The way people think about their language as their own, decontextualized property is grounded in the way they deal with their economy, in particular as regards money. (On the notion of 'money consciousness', and its influence on the use of language, see Mey 1985, esp. p. 202).

Money is not what constitutes the nation's wealth or prosperity; nations can be rich in money, but if that money doesn't correspond to any real wealth, the zeroes before the decimal point are just as devoid of real value as those following it.[5] In and by itself, money is value-less, in the strict sense of the word: as such, bank notes aren't even worth the paper they're printed on. The moment money loses its connection to the production processes which make up the real 'wealth of nations', to use a Smithean expression, money loses its real value, the value inherent in it as the general equivalent of society, to use a Marxian expression. Money is only worth something in its proper context, that is, wherever it can be related to some concrete underlying values; 'decontextualized' instances of money, such as the Hungarian one billion forint notes of 1948, or the German 100 billion mark notes from the post-Great War era, have today only value as curiosa, and perhaps as collectors' items.

The dialectics of decontextualization come to the fore linguistically in the somewhat odd expression 'private funds', in reality an oxymoron: my money is my private property, but what founds its worth, is society. While nobody can legally take my money away from me, the moment society collapses, my money becomes worthless. 'Private funds' are only worth something as long as they are publicly 'contextualized', that is to say, as long as they retain their connection with the wealth of the nation. The moment they lose this connection, they lose their worth, and become devalued.

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[5] Compare the case of Serbia which devalued its currency twice in the course of a mere three months: in August, 1993 the government chopped off 6 zeroes, and again in November of the same year, they declared a new monetary unit to be equivalent to 1 billion of the old ones. Brazil has, over the past decades, been witness to a process of similar character, which only recently has seemed to come to a stop, when the cascading sequences of *milreis*, *cruzeiro*, *cruzeiro novo*, *cruzado*, *cruzado novo*, *cruzeiro*, *cruzeiro real* came to an end on July 1, 1994 with the pegging of the new *real* to the US dollar (which it, incidentally, since has 'out-pegged': as of this writing (early September 1995), the rate of exchange is R$0.92 to the dollar).

3.4. The Decontextualization of Language

I will now revert to the case of the 'common language' discussed above, section 2.3, and show that what we are faced with in this case is actually a instance of *decontextualization*.

When political events tend to destabilize the context of society, people with money, faced with the threat of losing their property, will look for ways to uphold the value of their funds. They do this typically by withdrawing their money from the institutions that traditionally have managed it, and put it under beds, in socks, or nowadays even in the volatile money market. But above all, from times immemorial, people have been looking for an absolute and stable means of protecting values, classically by converting them to gold.

The critical property of gold is not its intrinsic value: as such, it is just a member of the Periodical System, one of the many metals on earth, except that it's rarer and more stable than most. The value of gold consists in its being set aside, both physically (as the gold bars in the subterranean vaults at Fort Knox, Tennessee, or the classical hoarder's treasure grove), but even more so mentally, in people's minds. Gold is at the same time the measure of all values and their invisible standard (the times that gold actually *was* the official standard for monetary values are long past, even though the words 'redeemable by gold' still figured prominently, as late as the 'seventies, on bank notes issued by--of all things--the government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic).

The 'common language' is the fictive gold standard of our speech. Its virtually non-existent, 'standard dialect' is typically spoken, if at all, by very few of a nation's population. The value of the standard language, as the value of the precious metal, is contingent upon its decontextualization, which is to say that it represents the absolute value, at the same time that it, in reality, does not represent any concrete value at all: it is a *decontextualized standard.*

The 'common language' is rendered abstract and devalued in much the same way that other 'Great Ideas' are set aside and catalogued: Life, Honor, Country, Faith, Family, and so on. Just as 'culture', 'art', 'education', 'Sunday School values', and other manifestations of the human interchange with our environment are set aside and given semi-sacred status in our society, thus also with language. A decontextualized view of language sets up an abstract ideal, such as a 'common language', to which everybody has to conform. In this way, we try to reconcile the paradox of language as individual, yet social, by decontextualizing the very notion of language, especially as it manifests itself in its audible form, speech. On this view, there is essentially just one 'good' pronunciation, just as there is one 'standard' language; the norm is abstracted down to its essence, hence cannot be at any time be subject to discussion. If your language betrays you, 'Love It Or Leave It!'

Contrary to this decontextualized conception of language, I want to stress the *pragmatic* view: language is what we, the users, make it, in the context of our societal possibilities. Carried to its extreme, this view says that there are no languages-as-such, only *speakers* of languages; and that their languages are 'good' enough if they serve the users' communicative purposes. Such a view flies in the face of much current thinking, not only among people at large, but also among linguists and teachers of languages, despite decades of efforts to introduce more liberal, less restrictive and absolutistic, views on language and its users. But only from this point of view, the concept of *ethnicity* as an identity manifested and sustained through language, makes sense. It is to this concept that I now will turn.

4. Ethnicity and Language

4.1. Identity and Language

"The language makes us strong, " says Gunnar Halldorsson, who teaches Icelandic at the University of Reykjavík; "it makes us into a people of many millions--counted over the centuries." (from an interview in the Swiss newspaper *Tagesanzeiger*, Friday, June 17, 1994, p. 2, on the occasion of the celebration of the 50th anniversary of Iceland's independence).

In these words, a very strong bond is created (or presupposed) between the nation, and its (historical and linguistic) identity--not only at the present time, but also counting in the people of the past centuries and the common language (Icelandic, as is well-known, has remained more or less unchanged from the time of the Vikings on--even though the process of conservation has received a helping hand from many language politicians and linguistic practitioners).

If we combine this statement with the opening words of the present article, where I quoted the Peruvian essayist Juan M. Ossio, it could almost look as if the question of language and identity could be resolved simply by postulating an equation, valid in both directions:

one's language is one's identity, and one's identity is one's language. However, the actual situation is not as simple as that.

To see this more clearly, let's go back the question of ethnic identity, raised earlier (in section 2.4), and put it *ad hominem* (or *feminam*, as the case may be): Who has the right to say that he or she belongs to a particular ethnic group? Or, conversely, who can deny his or her belonging to such a group, and on which grounds? The following section will examine this question more closely.

4.2. Peter, Paul, and Merit

In its most general form, the question is: Who is able to say 'I am an X', where X stands for 'person belonging to a particular ethnic group'? What merits justify such an honorable (or dishonorable) ascription?

To shed some light on this question, let's analyze another famous Biblical case in point, that of the great St. Paul, the 'least of the Apostles' (1 Cor. 15:9), the "refuse of the world, the offscouring[s] of all people [or: of all things]", as St. Peter's famous colleague, the 'little prince of the Apostles', humbly called himself (1 Cor. 4:13). In his disputes with the Jews over matters of traditional Judaism and respect for traditional practices (such as circumcision), Paul repeatedly identified himself as a Jew: "Are they Hebrews, I am too, are they sons of Abraham, I am too" (2 Cor. 11:22). Yet, when this same Apostle, in his encounter with the commander of the Temple garrison in Jerusalem, told the Roman officer that he, Paul, was "born a [Roman] citizen" (Acts 22:27-28), the result was amazed disbelief: how could it be that this insignificant little man (*paulus* means in fact 'little' in Latin) had been born into something that he himself had had to pay his way into "for a large sum", viz.: Roman citizenship (*ibid.*)?

Earlier on the same occasion, St. Paul had started talking in Greek to this Roman officer, with no less devastating results. "Do you speak Greek?", the military man had asked incredulously (*ibid.* 21:37). And not only that, but this alleged Jewish zealot, who (despite his multifarious ethnic, artisan, and theological background) in no way was an impressive figure in worldly terms, had been able to silence a violent majority of Jews outside the temple in Jerusalem, and thus avert a threatening disruption of the *pax Romana*, with concomitant rioting and bloodshed--all because he, "a citizen of no mean city" (*ibid.* 21:39) not only spoke Greek, but also could address the crowd in Hebrew![6]

So, if we were to ask St. Peter whether he would feel justified in calling himself a Galilean, he probably would have had no difficulty answering in the affirmative--even stronger, he would not have had any other options. A man like Peter thus normally (that is to say, barring exceptional circumstances such as the situation in the High Priest's courtyard) would have no qualms saying: 'I am a Galilean'. In contrast, Paul might have had a problem identifying himself as a Roman (except when it was politically advantageous to do so), even though he was a citizen of that republic; among Jews, he would call himself a Jew ("I am verily a man which am a Jew, born in Tarsus, a city in Cilicia, yet brought up in this city at the feet of Gamaliel, and taught according to the perfect manner of the law of the fathers"; Acts 22:3). In other words, speaking of ethnic identity in the case of Peter makes sense; in the case of Paul, the question is moot, and will probably remain so in all eternity, unless somebody has a revelation of some kind.

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[6] Thus St. Luke, in the *Acts* (21:37-40). It seems doubtful, however, that Paul should have spoken 'real' Hebrew--apparently, that language was an unknown idiom among most of the men and women in the street of that time (cf. the confusion reported by St. Matthew surrounding Jesus' last words on the cross *Eli, Eli, lama sabacthani* 'My God, my God, why hast Thou relinquished me?', which the bystanders interpreted as an invocation of the prophet Elijah. 'Now let's see if Elijah will come down and take him off the cross', was their sneering comment (Matth.27:46)).
Incidentally, one may note an interesting difference between the King James version of the Jerusalem episode and later translations: whereas in the former, we find the expression 'Hebrew' (cf. "And when there was made a great silence, he spake unto them in the Hebrew tongue, saying, ... And when they heard that he spake in the Hebrew tongue to them, they kept the more silence: and he saith,..." (Acts 21:40-22:2)), many of the latter versions correct 'Hebrew' to 'Aramaic' (cf. the *New International Version* of the same passage: "When they were all silent, he said to them in Aramaic:.. When they heard him speak to them in Aramaic, they became very quiet. Then Paul said:...")
An explanation for the sacred text's use of the term 'Hebrew' (though not necessarily a compelling reason for 'correcting' the King James Version) may be found in the fact that the secular author of the text, St. Luke, spoke Greek by birth: hence, it was 'all Hebrew to him'.

4.3. Merit and Market

Speaking more generally, is this question of ethnic identity answerable on the basis of personal preferences and qualities only? I think not. Ethnic identity, defined by the majority and as a majority merit, has always had an element of racism in it--'racism' here understood as a set of beliefs that (based on certain criteria, such as physical appearance, language, cultural and other habits) excludes certain people and accepts others. While ethnic identity can possess a positive quality, racism is always negative in that it *excludes* persons, rather than *includes* them, and does so on the basis of selective, often subjectively interpreted criteria. As the Working Group 'Racism and the Media' in Zurich expresses it succinctly and to the point, "racism is a condition of power and dominance, on which the existing society bases itself, and which determines structures worldwide. Racism is closely connected with past and present forms of colonialism." (1993:6)

Hence, racism is not something that originated with the advent of certain political parties or doctrines. Similarly, the 'ethnic' conflicts that are the negative hallmark of our modern society, have little to do with race (whatever that means), just like religious conflicts seldom are about religion alone. The conflicts that we have come to gather under the denominator of 'racial' or 'ethnic strife', 'religious upheavals', 'language wars', and so on, have to be seen in a broader context, that of oppression and dominance. They cannot be explained by exclusive reference to the relative merits of one's race, color, creed, language, or ethnic identity. What makes or breaks a man (or, for that matter, a woman) is the way he lives, or is forced to live. Racism is an ideology destined to keep the underdogs under; and in this game, it's dog over dog: racism is perpetuated all the way down the line in a society that is organized according to the principles of the market, that is to say, of profit making. Racism is a specific form of exploitation; it is the dark side of ethnicity, never too far away to be called up in times of need.

Thus, 'ethnic pride'--not a bad sentiment in and by itself--should not make us lose sight of the actual oppression of ethnic groups in our society. Whoever says 'I'm proud to be Black' (or a 'Christian', 'American', or whatever), should not forget that such an identification, such an affirmation of one's ethnic identity, often is blind to the very roots of the identity in question. In the case of the Blacks, the fact of the matter is that they were brought to America to provide unpaid, and later on cheap, labor. No amount of 'black pride' can hide that fact. Moreover, the living conditions of Black people will not improve as long as the present system employs this group in the same way as they have always done: as providers of surplus labor when needed, to be discarded when they no longer are necessary for the well-being of the system (the case of the Black workers from Mississippi that were brought to Chicago by the Armour factories in the early years of this century to replace their own striking meat-packers is a classical example of such a policy).

The ghetto is not just a 'prison of the soul', as Carolyn Swetland once expressed it (1976); for all practical purposes, it is a kind of 'state farm', where labor is pressed out of humans without proper compensation, just like in the prison houses of all ages, including our own. "The ghetto is a structural element of society" as Californian theater director Peter Sellars remarks, in discussing his production of Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice* (on National Public Radio station WBEZ, Chicago, September 30, 1994; *The Studs Terkel Show*).

Taken to its extreme, the 'prison' of ethnic thinking substantiates itself in the real prisons of the European ghettos, of the South African homelands, the misery of the inner city in America's burnt-out metropoles. It is a logic of 'defining out', by which a certain part of the population is considered to be 'bad' and therefore forcefully removable, like rotten apples from a basket of healthy ones. The tragic failure to deal with the Bosnian problem amounts at worst to the condoning of massive genocide, at best to the creation of 'Bantustans' in the heart of Europe, the rationale for whose existence is the perverted notion of ethnic identity, coupled with the fear that, in the words of the late Hugh Trevor-Roper, is the mainspring of fascism. (See Rabia & Lifschitz 1993, 1994).

5. Coda Finale:

The upshot of our thinking is that ethnic communities and their languages owe their conditions of subsistence and survival to the conditions of society, that is to say, in our capitalist society, to the conditions of the market, to the market 'forces' as we so aptly call them. 'Force' indicates constraint, and the market (which was originally just a place to exchange goods) "became capitalist when it became *compulsory*", as Ellen Meiksins Woods remarks, much to the point (1994:15). The idea of a 'free' market is thus just as much of an illusion as that of a 'free community'; in our society, any community that wants to participate in the circulation of goods and services has to do this on the premises of the compulsory capitalist market system. A viable ethnic community (which is the basis for ethnic identity) can only be built on a viable economic foundation. When those foundations become shaky, or there simply is not enough support for all, the groups with economic and financial clout win out, irrespective of ethnic or other 'roots'.

As Woods further remarks, the market is not just an "impersonal imperative" (in the spirit of the famous 'invisible hand' of Adam Smith); it is also "a direct instrument of class power manipulated by capital in its control of labor, not to mention as a medium of a new imperialism, in which advanced capitalist economies, with the help of the state, are imposing market 'disciplines' on the Third World and on the 'new democracies'" (1994:39). Ethnic conflicts, just as class conflicts, are acted out to the tune of the market; that is to say, it is the logic of capital that dictates the outcome of such conflicts, even though on the surface there may be conflicts, exclusively and seductively posing as 'ethnic', 'religious', and so on. The concept of 'ethnicity', in these contexts, serves to mask the real issues, those of oppression and domination.

The internationalization of culture, art, trade, and politics that we are witness to in our days is not in itself a threat to ethnicity, understood in the positive sense; however, inasmuch growing international contact and interchange of ideas in the 'global village' are predicated on the market and its conditions, they do indeed threaten the existence of ethnic identities and other 'non-marketable' cultural phenomena. Gone are the days when you could be a Galilean (or anything else) and just that. 'Modern' people (and St. Paul was a very modern man for his times!) have different, and sometimes conflicting identities, depending on their place in the societal processes. If the global village has come here to stay, provincialism will have to yield to internationalism (as already Thucydides remarked in the first chapters of his *Historiae*); but it has to happen on the positive premises of the provinces, not on some exclusive dictates percolating from above, from the centralized instances of international marketing, such as the European Union's Brussels bureaucracy, whose interests in 'ethnic' matters are exclusively couched in terms of what I call 'international gentrification'. For the preservation of ethnic identities (including the so-called 'endangered languages'; on this, see Mey 1994), it is imperative that the foundations of such a preservation be laid on a solid understanding of the mechanisms that propel our society, and on a will to combat the latter's tendencies to reduce culture, including ethnic and linguistic traditions, to a matter of adaptation to the iron laws of commerce. To sum it all up in one phrase:

‘MAY THE ETHNIC FORCE BE WITH US!’

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Konstruktivisme og autonom læring

Ernst Undall Dam

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Indledning

Autonom læring er ikke udviklet ud fra en teori om konstruktivisme. Autonom læring er udviklet af en praktisk tilgang til at undervise og skal ses som en videreudvikling af kommunikative og post-kommunikative ansatser (Breen & Candlin 1980; Wolff 1994; Dam 1995). Den konstruktivistiske teori kan bruges som et frugtbart perspektiv til at underbygge, fastholde og videreudvikle denne autonomi i undervisningen.

I det følgende vil jeg dels beskæftige mig med konstruktivismen, som er et forsøg på, at forklare den måde vi erkender og lærer på, og dels med autonom undervisning, idet jeg vil beskrive et forsøg på i praksis at fastholde dette teoretiske udgangspunkt.

I første del vil jeg starte med en præsentation af de centrale elementer i konstruktivismebegrebet, som de er udformet af Ernst von Glasersfeld (1989) med baggrund i Piagets tanker om erkendelse. Dernæst vil jeg se nærmere på dialektikken mellem "jeg" og "omverden" - den sociale interaktion - i et konstruktivistisk perspektiv på erkendelse, og i forbindelse med dette vil jeg inddrage sprogets rolle i kommunikationen. Efterfølgende vil jeg diskutere nogle danske fortolkninger af Piagets og Glasersfelds teorier og herunder argumentere for en fastholdelse af det konstruktivistiske perspektiv.

I anden del vil jeg beskrive et konkret forsøg på at implementere den konstruktivistiske holdning i undervisningen. Jeg vil fortælle om de første 3 måneder i en multinational begynderklasse: hvordan vi forsøgte at arbejde med tilegnelsen af de forskellige færdigheder med udgangspunkt i den enkelte elevs interesser og behov. Denne del vil jeg afslutte med at fortælle om et projektforløb efter 3 måneder. I konklusionen vil jeg pege på nogle af de vigtige ting, jeg har lært af dette forsøg og se på, hvilke perspektiver jeg ser for min fremtidige undervisning.

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Del 1

1. Radikal konstruktivisme

Det er ikke et spørgsmål om radikal konstruktivisme er sand eller falsk, men om den er anvendelig (Glasersfeld 1995: 22)

Jeg vil tage udgangspunkt i en radikal konstruktivisme,[1] som er udformet af Ernst von Glasersfeld (1989). Hans inspirationskilde har været Piaget. Jeg vil starte med at se på, hvordan Glasersfeld bruger nogle af Piagets teoretiske grundantagelser, for at komme frem til den erkendelsesopfattelse, der ligger bag radikal konstruktivisme.

Jeg vil i det følgende uddybe nogle af disse centrale begreber - især skemabegrebet og forskellige former for adaption. **Skemaer** er den adfærd, der på et givet tidspunkt er indkodet i individet. Et barns har f.eks. et "rangleskema" (Glasersfeld 1989): en rangle laver støj, når det ryster med den. Rangleskemaet består af tre elementer:

1 En ting barnet kan tage, der er rund i enden.
2 Barnet associerer til en bestemt aktivitet, når det ser den ting: at tage den op og ryste den.
3 Barnet forventer et bestemt resultat: en herlig støj!

Et skema er så at sige det perspektiv, man har på "noget", og den erfaring man har med "noget". Glasersfeld deler et skema op i tre dele:

1 Recognition of a certain situation;
2 a specific activity associated with that situation; and
3 the expectation that the activity produces a certain previously experienced result." (Glasersfeld 1995: 65)

Når nu barnet ser en ske på bordet, assimilerer det skeen til dets "rangleskema". Skeen ér en rangle for barnet på dette tidspunkt. Så ryster det skeen. Den lyder ikke som en rangle. Dette medfører en **pertubering** ("skuffelse"), og dette medfører måske en **akkomodation**, der gør, at barnet for fremtiden vil betragte skeer som "ikke - rangler". Hvis barnet begynder at slå med skeen, vil det føre til en anden pertubation og dermed en anden akkomodation: et "der-opstår-en-anden--men-herligere-støj,-når jeg-slår-skeen-i-bordet - skema"!

Adaption er den tilpasning der foregår mellem mennesket og omgivelserne. I adaption er der 3 vigtige faktorer: assimilitation, pertubering og akkomodation.

Jeg vil illustrere dette med et andet eksempel: En af mine bosniske elever fortæller mig, at han har fået sit hjem fuldstændig ødelagt. Han har boet i en lille landsby i 2 år, og i onsdags da han kom hjem, var alt ødelagt: møblerne var slået i stykker, potteplanterne smidt op på væggen, fjernsynet og stereoanlægget var smadret osv. Jeg synes, det er forfærdeligt og tænker udelukkende på danskere og racisme, indtil han antyder noget om nogle ex-jugoslaver fra en nærliggende større provinsby. Her får jeg mit eller mine skemaer pertuberet. Jeg forsøger, at behandle nyt materiale som et tilfælde af noget kendt. Det lykkes ikke, og der sker en pertubering - jeg får så at sige udvidet min horisont. Ikke ved simpel addition, men ved at noget nyt kommer ind, og noget eksisterende omstruktureres.

En pertubering er en forskel, men det er ikke en hvilken som helst forskel. Det er en forskel, der gør en forskel - set fra det enkelte individs synspunkt (Bateson 1991: 95).

Assimilation drejer sig ikke om, at føre noget fra omverdenen ind i erkendelsen og akkomodation ikke om en tilpasning til den ydre verden. Akkomodation er en læreproces, der er knyttet til de forventninger individet har, og den finder i følge Glasersfeld kun sted, hvis et skema - dvs de forventninger et individ har - ikke viser sig at være holdbar. I Glasersfelds fortolkning er assimilation ikke det modsatte af akkomodation. Assimilation og akkomodation er en samtidig proces, hvor individet ikke spejler sig i omverdenen - *men i sine egne forventninger.*

Den læring der sker ved en adaption (dvs assimilation-pertubering-akkomodation) skal føre til at individet opretholder eller genetablerer sit **ekvilibrium** eller sin ligevægtstilstand. Ekvilibrium er den tilstand, et individ befinder sig i, når det er i stand til at opveje de forstyrrelser, som det udsættes for fra omverdenen, igennem sine egne aktiviteter. Men ekvilibrium eller ligevægt er ikke statisk, men dynamisk. Man kan fx sammenligne med en cyklists balance på cyklen: hele tiden må vægten forskydes afhængig af vejens beskaffenhed, anden trafik, kurver og sving, og hele tiden må den fastsatte værdi for ligevægt ændres i takt med disse forskydninger (Rasmussen 1996:120-121). Glasersfeld konkluderer:

> Læring finder sted, når et aktivitetsskema i stedet for at producere det forventede resultat fører til en forstyrelse, og når denne forstyrrelse videre fører til akkomodation, som opretholder eller genskaber den mentale ligevægt. (1995: 68)

Konsekvensen af ovenstående er bl.a., at viden ikke kan overføres. Vi konstruerer hver især vores viden, ud fra de skemaer vi har opbygget på et givet tidspunkt. Jeg vil illustrere det med et andet eksempel. Skov (1994) lavede en undersøgelse om børns talforståelse. Han spurgte nogle børn: "Hvor mange fingre har du på din venstre hånd?" og derefter: "Hvor mange fingre har du på din højre hånd?" Der var nogle af børnene, der ikke svarede fem på begge spørgsmål men fem på det første og ti på det andet. Et andet spørgsmål lød: "Hvis du har fire blyanter på bordet, og du får fem af mig, hvor mange blyanter har du så?" En lille dreng svarede fem.

Når man nu går ud fra, at børnene ikke bare talte i vildelse, så må man spørge sig selv: "Hvilke tanker ligger der bag sådanne svar?" Det viser sig, at nogle børn anvender talord som navne på ting, de skal regne med. De giver fx de forskellige fingre navne: etteren, toeren, treeren osv. På den måde kommer den sidste finger på den anden hånd til at hedde "tieren", og derfor svarer barnet, at der er fem fingre på den ene hånd og ti på den anden. I det sidstnævnte eksempel opfatter drengen det sådan, at han får en ny blyant, der hedder "fem" og ikke 5 nye blyanter. Børnenes svar er altså ikke meningsløse, men konsistente i forhold til den måde de opfatter verden på.

2. Den konstruktivistiske teoris konsekvenser for erkendelse og læring

De følgende punkter, der omhandler en konstruktivistisk antropologis konsekvenser for erkendelse og læring, er inspireret af Wolff (1994, 1996).

1. Det enkelte menneske kan kun forstå eller lære det, som han/hun kan forbinde med sin allerede eksisterende viden.

2. Konstruktionsprocesser er individuelt forskellige, derfor er resultatet af læreprocesser ikke identiske.

3. Viden er altid subjektiv viden, der kan være forskellig selv for mennesker i samme sociale kontekst.

4. Ny viden implicerer omstrukturering af allerede eksisterende viden.

5. Mennesket er et lukket system, der organiserer sig selv og dermed organiserer verden for sig selv.

Det er afgørende for en konstruktivistisk teori om erkendelse at få klargjort den sociale interaktions rolle. Altså: hvis individet er et lukket system, kan det så overhovedet påvirkes af sine omgivelser og i givet fald hvordan?

Rasmussen (1996) kritiserer netop Glasersfeld for solipsisme. "Solipsisme er den opfattelse, at ens eget jeg eller ens egen erkendelse er det eneste, som eksisterer; ud over mig eksisterer der ikke andre bevidste mennesker: bevidsthedens model af virkeligheden *er* virkeligheden" (Rasmussen 1996: 123). Han sætter spørgsmålstegn ved, om individet kan regulere sig selv uden kontakt til omverdenen, altså kun med kontakt til sine erfaringer af den: "Det synes ikke at give mening, at man skal kunne iagttage en omverden, som kun findes i ens egen erfaring, altså at vi, når vi iagttager omverdenen, samtidig kan se bort fra dens eksistens" (Rasmussen 1996: 125).

Glasersfeld selv taler om en "intersubjektivitet", der skal erstatte den traditionelle objektivitet (1995: 119), og han taler om, at "andre" skal tages i betragtning, fordi de betyder "a construction of a more solid experiential (erfaringsbaseret) reality" (1995: 127). Han erkender, at der her er "a fundamental theoretical complication": "Hvis jeg ud fra andres reaktioner forstår mig selv, og min forståelse af disse andre er et resultat af min egen konstruktion, er der en iboende cirkularitet". Han peger altså på, at der her er en brist i teorien, en modsætning eller en cirkelslutning, men han fortsætter: "In my view, this is not a vicious circle, because we are not free to construct others in any way we like. As with all other constructs, the "models" we build up of others either turns out to be viable in our experience, or they do not and have to be discarded" (Glasersfeld 1995:127).

Det tilsyneladende paradoksale i ovenstående hænger sammen med, at Glasersfeld, på trods af sin udskiftning af ordet objektivitet med "intersubjektivitet", implicit stadig opererer med en form for objektivitet: andre mennesker skal tages i betragtning, fordi de betyder "a construction of a more solid experiential reality" (1995: 127).

Niklas Luhmann (1997) tilbyder en frugtbar synsvinkel på Glasersfelds cirkelslutning. Luhmann - der også betragter sig selv som konstruktivist (Luhmann 1997: 24) - opererer med begrebet **autopoiesis** - selvskabelse. Det er et begreb, han har lånt fra de chilenske biologer Humberto Maturana og Francisko Varela (Luhmann 1997: 25), som brugte begrebet i et forsøg på at forstå biologisk liv (Maturana & Varela 1987). Luhmann udvider begrebet, så det ikke kun dækker levende systemer, men også psykiske og sociale systemer: "Mens levende systemer opererer i mediet "liv",opererer psykiske systemer i mediet "bevidsthed" og sociale systemer i mediet "kommunikation". (Luhmann 1997: 26)

Et autopoietisk system er lukket. Det har ingen kontakt med omverdenen. Alligevel er disse systemer flettet ind i hinanden, og Luhmann bruger ordet "strukturel kobling" til at redegøre for, hvordan et system kan stille sin kompleksitet til rådighed for et andet system, uden at det andet system har adgang til andet end sig selv (Luhmann 1997: 74). Autopoietiske systemer kam ikke modtage elementer fra deres omverden, de kan modtage "stof" og "energi", der forstyrrer systemet på en måde, som derefter internt bringes i en form, som systemet kan arbejde med (Luhmann 1997: 25 og 74).For Luhmann består et socialt system ikke af mennesker eller ting. Det består af en fortsat strøm af kommunikation. "Kommunikation er en helt uafhængig, autonom, selvreferentiel og lukket proces omkring håndtering af selektioner" (Luhmann 1997: 33).

Derfor taler Luhnann ikke om objektivitet eller intersubjektivitet. Han siger, at det empirisk viser sig, at der kan opnås tilstrækkelig stabilitet omkring beskrivelser af en fælles verden. Der opstår en fortrolig verden, når iagttagere koordinerer deres iagttagelser i sproget.

På den måde er virkelighed altid "min" virkelighed, men det betyder ikke, at der ikke eksisterer nogen virkelighed uden for mig, men for mig er den fremmede virkelighed *mulighed*, dvs jeg har kun adgang til den via sproget, tegnet, begrebet, erkendelsen eller via *min* brug af sproget etc (Nordentoft 1972: 437).

Det er her ideen om kompabilitet i kommunikationen kommer ind. Denne idé kommer inden for sprogvidenskaben fra den schweiziske filolog Ferdinand de Saussure (Glasersfeld 1996: 46-48 og 130-132). Saussure interesserede sig bl.a. for sprogets funktion. Kort sagt går hans teori ud på, at kommunikation både er en psykologisk proces (mentale billeder)[2] og en fysisk proces fx lydbølger. Den semantiske forbindelse mellem et ord og dets mening, er resultatet af psykologisk association, og psykologiske associationer kan kun udformes af et individ i relation til hans eller hendes subjektive erfaringer.

Med hensyn til kommunikation giver det derfor mere mening at tale om "kompabilitet" end "sharing of meaning": for at deltage i kommunikation er jeg nødt til at udtrykke mig på en måde, der er kompatibel med de omgivelser, jeg kommunikerer med. Det handler altså ikke om, at man via sproget og kommunikationen skaber en virkelighed, der er "ens" eller "den samme". Det handler om, at man i gennem sproget og kommunikationen skaber en virkelig, der er "forenelig", som "ikke kolliderer" med omgivelserne (Glasersfeld 1995: 137-143). Det der "overlever" i kommunikationen, er altså det, der er foreneligt - kompatibelt. Denne kompabilitet kan ikke testes ved direkte sammenligning - den manifesterer sig kun på den måde, at den der taler ikke gør noget, der modsiger de forventninger, den der lytter udleder fra hans eller hendes fortolkning (Glasersfeld 1995: 143). Den konstruktiviske kommunikationsmodel kan derfor udtrykkes i de to tilsyneladende modstridende sætninger: "Jeg hører det, du siger" og "Du siger, det jeg hører!". Disse to sætninger udtrykker den strukturelle kobling mellem 2 autopoietiske systemer - psykiske systemer og sociale systemer. Systemerne er hver for sig lukkede, og da kommunikation er forståelse, har den et element af usynlighed. Den kan ikke iagttages direkte kun sluttes indirekte. Og i de mangfoldige sammenhænge af iagttagelser, som styrker eller svækker hinanden, dukker den fælles verden frem.

3. Danske tolkninger af det konstruktivistiske læringsbegreb

I den danske debat tolkes Piagets begreber om assimilation og akkomodation på to måder (Rasmussen 1996):

- dels på den måde som jeg har beskrevet i det foregående, nemlig sådan, at de hænger uløseligt sammen og er knyttet til de forventninger det enkelte menneske har og

- dels som 2 adskilte procestyper, der kan foregå uafhængigt af hinanden.

I den sidste tolkning ses akkomodation som det modsatte af assimilation. Altså assimilation er en indadgående proces, og akkomodation er en udadgående proces. Dvs at vi får en genspejlingsteori, hvor omverdenen forstyrrer og tilbyder sig som et spejl, hvori individet kan justere sine handlinger. Dette er baggrunden for, at man i danske udlægninger taler om at "irritere", "forstyrre" og "provokere" eleverne (Jacobsen 1993: 17; Gleerup & Petersson (1995) og Rasmussen 1996: 132).

Knud Illeris (Rasmussen 1996: 116-117) hævder at den assimilative indlæring kommer til at svare til traditionel formidlingsorienteret undervisning og akkomodation bliver den indlæring, der forsøger at knytte an til individets kognitive strukturer. Den assimilative erkendelse knyttes sammen med lærerstyrede pædagogiske arbejdsmønstre som undervisning og opgaveløsning, og den akkomodative erkendelse knyttes sammen med deltagerstyrede pædagogiske arbejdsmønstre som studier og projekter.

På den måde hævder Illeris at Piagets teori bliver mere "praksisnær og anvendelig" (Rasmussen 1996: 117) For mig at se er det ikke tilfældet. Tværtimod mister man de erkendelsesteoretiske indsigter ved denne opsplitning, hvor assimilationen og akkomodationen er adskilte processer. Og det er baggrunden for, at udgangspunktet forbliver instruktivistisk: læreren skal irritere, forstyrre og provokere.

4. Konklusion: Konkretisering af det konstruktivistiske læringsbegreb

At lære er at udvikle forbindelse mellem det man allerede ved og noget nyt, og det kan kun gøres af én selv. Man lærer kun noget, hvis det er nødvendigt for én. Læring betyder altså, at man ved hjælp af sine nyvundne kundskaber forandrer sit verdensbillede. Det er det udgangspunkt, vi som lærere, må gå ind i klassen med og den synsvinkel, vi må lægge på den enkelte elev. I klassen vil det helt konkret sige, at man som lærer ikke kan lære nogen noget, men man kan skabe betingelserne for, at nogen lærer sig noget. Man kan som lærer lytte, observere og høre begrundelser for, sammen med dem enkelte elev, at blive bedre til at vurdere, justere og udvikle:

> Opmuntrer læreren learneren til at tænke nærmere efter og måske udvide sit udsagn, eller vurderer han det? Positiv eller negativ er ikke at betragte som modsætninger. I virkeligheden tjener de nøjagtig samme formål, nemlig en bedømmelse ... (som) under de samme betingelser synes at fjerne opmærksomheden fra de tanker, der er givet udtryk for, til en bedømmelse, der er foretaget (Barnes 1977: 108)

Den dialog der er konsekvensen af ovenstående er differentieringen og evalueringen i undervisningen: alle elever er unikke. Enhver kategorisering indebærer en "abstrakt almen learner", der skal konkretiseres i forhold til den elev, man sidder over for.[3]

5. Autonom læring: et forsøg i indvandrerundervisningen

I det følgende vil jeg beskrive et forsøg på autonom læring i en begynderklasse i foråret 96. Jeg vil beskrive klassens aktiviteter og mine didaktiske overvejelser i forbindelse med disse aktiviteter. Indledningsvis vil jeg præsentere klassen og berette om den første undervisningsgang, for at give et indtryk af undervisningens organisation og gennemførelse.

5.1 Klassen og materialet

Der var 12 elever i den klasse, som jeg underviste i 3 timer daglig. De kom fra: Sri Lanka (5 elever), Bosnien (2 elever), Tyskland, Spanien, Skotland, Uganda, Ethiopien. Kun én elev havde gået på sprogskole før (en skotte i én måned). De havde været i Danmark mellem 2 og 4 år (undtagen Fritz fra Tyskland der havde været her i 2 måneder, og Zewdu fra Somalia der havde været her i 4 måneder). De kunne lidt dansk, og alle talte engelsk på nær et ældre ægtepar fra Bosnien.

De fleste af eleverne var gode spor 2 elever.[4] To var meget svage (det bosniske ægtepar) og nogle af dem lå mellem spor 2 og spor 3 (eleverne fra Europa).

Klasseværelset

Ifølge konstruktivistisk tænkning er interaktionen mellem eleverne og mellem eleverne og læreren af afgørende betydning for, at der sker en læring. Den traditionelle indretning af klasseværelset (eleverne sidder to og to med front mod læreren eller hesteskoformen) begrænser den mulige sociale interaktion. For at forbedre mulighederne for interaktion stillede jeg bordene sammen til gruppearbejde før eleverne mødte op til 1. undervisningsgang. I starten var det et stort arbejde dels at få eleverne flyttet, når de skulle snakke sammen 2 og 2 og - endnu værre - når de skulle arbejde i grupper og selv bestemme, hvor de ville sidde og flytte borde sammen. Og da vi på skolen arbejder i 3 moduler, blev bordene hver dag flyttet "på plads" - dvs tilbage i hesteskoformen. Det varede 3 uger før det foregik automatisk, og eleverne selv styrede det.

Jeg tror, at de fysiske rammer i nogle tilfælde kan være med til at sådanne eksperimenter slår fejl, fordi læreren skal bruge uforholdsmæssig megen ekstra energi på at etablere dem.[5] Min erfaring er dog, at det er nødvendigt at ændre de fysiske rammer, og at det er en god idé at begynde i det små med pararbejde - de der sidder ved siden af hinanden. Men det er vigtigt, at man går videre og vænner eleverne til, at arbejde sammen i mange forskellige parkonstellationer og altså skifte pladser og endelig at arbejde sammen i grupper, der er fysisk afgrænset fra hinanden.

Når dette er sagt, er det også væsentligt at pege på, at den radikale konstruktivisme ikke peger på gruppearbejde, som en "deus ex machina". Gruppearbejde er en mulighed for at udvide interaktionsspektret, men kun hvis de involverede parter rent faktisk får mulighed for og bruger gruppearbejdet til at sætte "sig selv" i forhold til hinanden. Nøgleordene her er **selvværd** og **ligeværd.**[6]

Materialer

Mit udgangspunkt i begynderklassen var, at de ikke skulle have en fælles systembog netop for at forsøge at lægge initiativet ud til eleverne. De fik i stedet udleveret:

- En engelsk/dansk - dansk/engelsk billedordbog - så de kunne arbejde med ord og emner ud fra individuelle interesser.
- En kinabog der skulle anvendes som logbog.
- En ordbog til deres eget sprog - evt en engelsk/dansk ordbog, hvis eleven ønskede dette i stedet for.

I klassen fandtes en reol med forskellige begyndersystemer, ordbøger til elevernes sprog, danske ordbøger, ugeblade, læse-let-bøger, fakta om Danmark, kortbog, Dansk grammatik for udlændinge, ol.

5.2 Den første dag

Vi startede med en sang. Det gjorde vi hver dag dels for at få sproget ind på en anden måde og dels for at få et fælles afsæt for timerne. Endvidere kom denne aktivitet også til at understrege, at dansk er et andetsprog, fordi eleverne hørte disse sange i tv, i radioen, i deres børns skole ol. Vi gennemgik ikke ordene i sangene. Min erfaring er, at dét "dræber" sangene. Det var kun, hvis eleverne spurgte, at vi tog ordforklaringer op.

Bagefter lavede vi en kort præsentation: navn, land, tid i Danmark og skolegang. Præsentationen blev lavet på engelsk, dansk og ved hjælp af en bosnisk ordbog og fakter. Denne præsentation lavede jeg for at få et indtryk af, hvor meget dansk eleverne allerede kunne, og på baggrund af det skrev jeg flg. tekst på tavlen:

> Jeg hedder Ernst. Jeg er 45 år. Jeg er gift. Min kone hedder Susanne. Hun arbejder også her på Sprogskolen. Jeg har 3 børn. En pige der er 20 år, og 2 drenge der er 18 år. De er tvillinger. Jeg bor i Århus. Jeg er indvandrerlærer. Min hobby er musik. Jeg spiller guitar i et danseorkester i min fritid. Jeg elsker mine børn, og jeg hader kulde. Jeg har en søster og en bror. Min mor hed Ingrid, og min far hed Axel, men de er døde.

Vi snakkede om, hvad ordene betød, efterhånden som jeg skrev på tavlen, og eleverne skrev teksten ned i den kinabog, de lige havde fået.

Nu havde eleverne altså fået en model, de kunne gå ud fra. En vigtig ting ved teksten var, at den var personlig: hvis jeg skulle tage udgangspunkt i den såkaldte "sociale virkelighed i klassen" (Breen og Candlin 1980), så var jeg nødt til at introducere dette ved at være personlig og fortælle noget om mig selv. Altså på den måde sige at her bruger vi vores personlige historie og erfaringer, når vi lærer dansk.

Så skrev eleverne om sig selv og spurgte mig, når de manglede ord, og jeg skrev nye ord op på en poster, der blev hængt op på væggen. Bagefter læste de op for hinanden i grupperne. Det vigtige for mig var, at eleverne fik lejlighed til at skrive noget personligt om sig selv og kommunikere det videre til de andre på dansk. Og så vidt jeg kunne se betød det både større engagement og mindre nervøsitet: det er måske lettere at starte med at kommunikere oplysninger om sig selv videre end at skulle producere modelsætninger, hvor fokus udelukkende er på strukturen og udtalen i sproget. Altså udelukkende ting som eleven på dette tidspunkt ikke behersker.

Efter at eleverne havde præsenteret sig i grupperne, spurgte jeg om der var nogle, der ville præsentere sig for klassen. Og det er et princip: det er frivilligt, om man vil sige noget med hele klassen som tilhørere. Her fik eleverne så igen lejlighed til at spørge om ord, de ikke forstod. Disse ord kom også op på væggen.

Den næste opgave lød: skriv nogle danske ord som I kender, eller som I gerne vil lære - kig evt i billedordbogen! Jeg gik så rundt og snakkede med hver enkelt, om de ord han eller hun havde skrevet. Det var dels for at introducere billedordbogen og dels for understrege den individuelle tilgang til sprogindlæringen: I undervisningen tager vi udgangspunkt i, hvad der interesserer dig.

Bagefter sagde eleverne, at de gerne ville lære:

- de personlige pronominer (de blev skrevet på en poster og hængt op på væggen)
- alfabetet (de fik en kopi, og vi havde en tavle i klassen - jeg gennemgik udtalen)
- tallene
- månederne.

Tal og måneder gennemgik vi på den måde, at vi skrev vore fødselsdage og cpr - numre på en poster, der blev sat op på væggen. Alle de posters der efterhånden kom op på væggen blev så at sige klassens fælles ordskat, som vi kunne henvise til, og som i denne startfase kunne hjælpe eleverne, med at fastholde de ting vi havde snakket om.

5.3 Hjemmearbejde

I forhold til en konstruktivistisk erkendelsesopfattelse er det vigtigt, at hjemmearbejde er noget, den enkelte elev har lyst til og interesserer sig for. Helt generelt definerede jeg hjemmearbejde som "at beskæftige sig med sproget uden for skolen". Med baggrund i dette spurgte jeg eleverne: Hvad kan du gøre hjemme/i din fritid for at blive bedre til dansk?

Eleverne fik først 10 minutter til at skrive forslag i deres logbog, og bagefter læste de, hvad de havde skrevet, og jeg skrev det op på en poster:

- se fjernsyn
- prøve at identificere ting
- snakke med danske venner
- lære mindst 2 nye ord hver dag og skrive dem ned
- se tv-avisen
- gå på kursus
- læse aviser
- snakke med sin nabo
- se film med danske undertekster
- snakke dansk i butikker
- læse bøger
- finde danske venner
- repetere det jeg allerede har lavet
- se reklame-tv
- snakke med sin kæreste
- læse bøger og lytte til bånd
- skrive resumé i dagbogen
- læse tekster og sætte dem ind i dagbogen

Ud fra denne liste skulle hver elev vælge, hvad han/hun ville lave til næste dag og skrive det i sin logbog.

Næste dag skulle eleverne så to og to "dele hjemmearbejde". Det foregik på den måde, at jeg satte dem sammen. Så skulle de fortælle hinanden, hvad de hver især havde lavet hjemme for at blive bedre til dansk. Hver elev havde 5 minutter til dette. Bagefter skulle de skrive i deres dagbog, hvad den anden havde fortalt. Det blev der også afsat 5 minutter til.

Denne aktivitet var herefter en daglig foreteelse. Jeg bestemte, hvem der skulle være sammen og sørgede for, at alle kom til at snakke sammen.

Når jeg skal vurdere undervisningen her bagefter, mener jeg, at denne aktivitet foruden at tilgodese elevernes individuelle interesser og træne dem i selv at tage et ansvar for, hvad de ville lære, var af afgørende betydning for etableringen af et socialt klima, hvor eleverne kom til at respektere hinanden som mennesker og fik en forståelse for, at de rent faktisk kunne lære noget af hinanden. Aktiviteten fokuserede nemlig på kommunikation som formidling af indhold, og så formen som et middel til at klargøre dette indhold og ikke som et mål i sig selv. Dette betød bl.a., at de niveauforskelle der var i beherskelse af det danske sprog overskyggedes af interessen for "den anden som person" og ikke kom til at forhindre kommunikationen eleverne imellem.

5.4 Logbogen

I logbogen skrev eleverne hver dag:

1 Hvem har jeg delt hjemmearbejde med, og hvad har han/hun lavet hjemme/i fritiden for at blive bedre til dansk.

Dette gav mig mulighed for, at følge med i hvad de enkelte elever lavede.

2 Hvad har jeg lavet i dag?

Her skrev eleverne, hvad de var igang med. Denne aktivitet skulle være med til at fokusere på læring som en proces. Samtidig kunne eleverne hele tiden slå tilbage i denne proces, og sidst men ikke mindst skrev de om noget meningsfyldt.

Meningen med 3 og 4 var, at eleven skulle begynde at tænke over, hvordan han/hun lærte dansk. Dette er vigtigt, fordi vi har forskellige måder at lære på, og læring er mest effektiv, når man selv er engageret i det man lærer.

3 Hvad har været godt i dag?
4 Hvad har været skidt?

For at holde eleven fast på, at det er hendes/hans eget projekt at lære dansk skrev de:

5 Hvad vil jeg lave som hjemmearbejde til i morgen?

Jeg tog dagbøgerne med hjem hver weekend og snakkede med hver enkelt elev om mandagen, mens de andre læste. Det var en vigtig aktivitet, både fordi det var meningsfyldt kommunikation, men også fordi det gav mig en mulighed for at få et indtryk af den enkelte elev og bruge dialogen som en løbende evaluering dels af eleven og dels af den måde, jeg selv organiserede undervisningen på. Jeg rettede ikke fejl i dagbogen - kun hvis der var noget, jeg ikke forstod. Ellers stillede sig uddybende spørgsmål.

5.5 Gruppearbejde

Efter 3 uger spurgte jeg eleverne: Hvad vil du lære i klassen nu? Eleverne fik 10 minutter til at skrive forslag i deres logbog, og bagefter skrev jeg emnerne på en poster:

> Udtale, dialog, personlige pronominer, læse, skrive, matematik, information om Danmark, spørgsmål, tælle, måneder, edb, fødselsdage, sætningsopbygning, grammatik, læse ugeblade og lokalaviser, snakke med mennesker, forstå dansk tv, snakke mere, skrive en historie og snakke om den.

Jeg tog disse forslag med hjem, og lavede grupper efter de interesser de havde, og især efter hvad der praktisk kunne lade sig gøre! Eleverne skulle så i de enkelte grupper finde frem til, hvad de ville lave:

> Hvad vil I gøre?
> Hvordan vil I gøre det?
> Hvad skal jeg (Ernst) gøre?

Her er nogle af de emner, grupperne valgte at arbejde med:

- personlige pronominer
- spørgsmål - svar/interviews (her havde vi også en vægposter med spørgsmål og svar)
- grammatik - de lavede sætninger i nutid
- præpositioner
- artikler
- "Dansk for hele verden"
- sætningsopbygning: hoved- og bisætninger
- udtale (gruppen arbejdede med "Vi ses" af Kirsten Ahlburg, bog og bånd)

Min rolle i denne proces var at finde materialer, de kunne bruge og give dem ideer til, hvordan de kunne arbejde.

Ét gruppearbejde varede ca. en uge. Efter hvert gruppearbejde præsenterede grupperne kort, hvad de havde lavet. Desuden fortalte de, hvad de havde lært af det - hvad der havde været godt og hvad der havde været mindre godt. Bagefter tog vi så igen en runde, hvor hver enkelt bestemte, hvad han/hun ville lave og lavede grupper.

Det var så at sige køreplanen: eleverne valgte, hvad de ville lave, de blev sat sammen i grupper (fra 2 til 5), de præsenterede kort, hvad de havde lavet og fortalte, hvad der havde været godt og dårligt, og så valgte de et nyt emne.

Det største problem i denne aktivitet var at koble det individuelle sammen med det fælles: når eleverne individuelt havde valgt et emne, blev de sat sammen med andre, der havde valgt noget andet, og de skulle så blive enige om et fælles emne. Jeg tror, at grunden til at det gik nogenlunde smertefrit var, at klassen fungerede godt socialt.

5.6 Læsning

Vi begyndte med læsning efter 2 uger. Vi læste autentiske tekster. Det skal forstås som tekster, der ikke er konstruerede til læseøvelser, men skrevet med det formål at fange læserens interesse.[7]

Vi startede med en fælles bog "Hvor er Bo?" af Kirsten Ahlburg (bog og bånd i Sproglaboratoriet). Bagefter udfyldte eleverne et læseskema. Læseskemaet bestod af flg. spørgsmål (Andersen & Hermansen: 1995):

- Hvad hedder bogen?
- Fortæl kort, hvad bogen handler om, evt i stikord?
- Holdt du pauser, mens du læste?
- Brugte du ordbog mens du læste?
- Hvad hedder forfatteren?
- Hvornår foregår bogen?
- Hvor foregår bogen?
- Læste du nogle dele af bogen flere gange?

- Snakkede du med nogle af de andre i klassen om den bog, du læste? (Her var der 3 muligheder for afkrydsning: Ja, ofte - nogle gange - nej, slet ikke.)
- Hvad synes du om indholdet i bogen? (spændende, ikke særlig spændende, kedeligt)

- Hvordan synes du, teksten var at læse? (meget let, let, svær, meget svær)
- Synes du, at det er en god idé at lave et læsekursus? (ja, nej, ved ikke)
- Kan du anbefale bogen til andre? (ja, nej, ved ikke)

Dette skema var så udgangspunkt for en individuel samtale med mig. Her fortalte eleverne, det de havde lyst til, og jeg forsøgte at lave det til en snak om bogen og ikke et forhør.

Når eleverne var færdige med en bog, skulle de vælge en ny. Det var mit faste hjemmearbejde til dem. Efter den første bog, var der frit valg. Og proceduren var den samme: udfyldning af læseskema og snak med mig. Jeg havde lånt ca 80 forskellige bøger på biblioteket til en start, og denne samling fik vi udskiftet midt i forløbet.

I forbindelse med denne form for læsning er det vigtigt at komme ud over de traditionelle kontrolspørgsmål. Vi snakkede bl.a. om spørgsmål til bogen "Vi ses" af Kirsten Ahlburg. De traditionelle spørgsmål kunne fx være:

- Hvor skal Ib og Anne hen?
- Hvor lang tid?
- Hvad skal de have med?

Men dels er det spørgsmål, alle kender svaret på, hvis de har læst bogen og dels meget lukkede spørgsmål. F.eks.: Hvor skal de hen? Til Grækenland?

Vi kom så til at snakke om, hvad et godt spørgsmål er. Én foreslog: Hvor man rejste hen, og det snakkede vi lidt om, og fandt ud af, hvor vi hver især havde været. Så foreslog en anden, hvorfor vi rejste, og diskussionen kom herefter ind på, at et godt spørgsmål var ét, der åbnede for udveksling af meninger, synspunkter og erfaringer.

Eleverne fik også et klassesæt af et ugeblad, og jeg lavede nogle spørgsmål. Det overordnede formål med denne opgaveform var at stimulere elevernes lyst til at gå i gang med autentiske tekster og via de forskellige former for "tasks" at vise dem, at de magtede at få noget ud af et sådant ugeblad. De forskellige opgaver blev altså ikke stillet, for at de skulle lære at skimme, scanne og nærlæse eller for at forøge deres læsehastighed ved at læse under tidspres. Min intention med at få eleverne til at anvende forskellige læsestrategier var udelukkende at stimulere deres læselyst - at motivere eleverne til at gå i gang med tekster, de syntes var interessante og forsøge at overbevise dem om, at alle tekster er tilgængelige i en eller anden forstand.

De fik en uge til at arbejde med blad og spørgsmål. Det var deres hjemmearbejde. Efter en uge blev de sat i grupper og skulle sammenligne deres besvarelser. Når de havde været igennem spørgsmålene, skulle de snakke med mig, men kun om de svar de ikke var enige om. Denne sammenligning skulle bl.a. bruges til at bevidstgøre eleverne om, at der ikke kun findes én løsning, dvs. én måde at læse og forstå en tekst på.

Efter at eleverne havde orienteret sig i bladet, var de sidste spørgsmål: "Vælg en tekst du har lyst til at læse!" "Skriv kort hvorfor du valgte teksten!" og "Skriv 5 stikord der fortæller, hvad den handler om!". Disse spørgsmål skulle tjene som en spore til at vælge af lyst, og var så baggrund for en samtale med mig.

5.7 Skrivning

Vi arbejdede også med den form for skrivning, der går under navnet kreativ skrivning. I vores udformning bestod den i, at jeg eller eleverne fandt et emne, der for det meste havde relation til noget, vi havde snakket om, og så fik eleverne 10 minutter til at skrive om dette emne. Emnerne var fx.: naboer, weekend, mandag, fødselsdag, ol.

Efter 10 minutter, læste eleverne op for hinanden to og to. Eleverne skulle spørge, hvis de ikke forstod hinanden. Bagefter var der frivillig oplæsning på klassen. Der var stor forskel på, hvordan eleverne arbejdede med denne form for skrivning.

Den spanske elev sagde, da han blev interviewet til LVU-bladet:

> Det er den slags øvelser, jeg allerbedst kan lide. Det er rart at få lov til at skrive selv - og samtidig have en tid, det skal gøres inden for. Hvis jeg har lang tid, bliver jeg let usikker og synes, jeg skal slå det hele op i ordbogen. På den her måde er jeg tvunget til at skrive et eller andet i løbet af de 10 minutter.

mens journalisten skrev følgende om det bosniske ægtepar:

Et ældre bosnisk ægtepar hjælper hinanden. Den ene skriver, mens den anden slår op i ordbogen (Friis 1996)

Efter min erfaring er kreativ skrivning først og fremmest med til at udvikle elevernes mundtlige færdigheder. De skriver i logbogen, men det retter jeg ikke. Pointen er nemlig, at man skal skrive så meget så muligt, af det man tænker. Dvs at man også kan skrive stikord og halve sætninger. Når man så læser op, kan man fylde hullerne ud, og partneren kan hjælpe én med at fylde ud, hvis han/hun ikke forstår det sagte. Det er en form for skrivning der er udviklet i skriveundervisningen i folkeskolen, i gymnasiet, på HF og i Handelsskolen (Tverskov 1990, Jørgensen & Pedersen 1994 og Hald & Tverskov 1996). Vi har hentet den her, og jeg tror, at hvis vi forlanger, at nogen skal kunne læse den, når man skriver på et andetsprog, så vil fokus skifte fra indhold (følelser, oplevelser) til form (korrekthed). Men det ophæver selvfølgelig ikke den rent faktiske dialektik mellem indhold og form: hvor korrekt skal sproget være, for at eleven kan gøre sig forståelig? Men den gør den konkret: vi arbejder hele tiden med autentisk kommunikation og skal forstå det, der bliver sagt her og nu, og formen må ikke blokere for denne forståelse.

Skriveundervisningen inddrog også EDB. Her arbejdede vi udelukkende med tekstbehandling. Eleverne havde fra starten 3 timers EDB om ugen. Vi startede med et introduktionskursus i tekstbehandling, som jeg havde lavet i samarbejde med vores EDB-lærer. Bagefter skrev eleverne så tekster efter eget valg. Hovedkilden var deres logbog, dvs hvad de havde lavet som hjemmearbejde, hvilke emner de havde arbejdet med, referater af læste bøger ol.

Min rolle i denne skriveproces var, at komme med individuelle forslag til uddybninger og forbedringer ud fra en vurdering af den enkelte elevs behov og formåen.

5. 8 Projekt

Efter godt 3 måneder skulle eleverne hver især lave et projekt. Jeg valgte den individuelle tilgang for at sikre elevernes engagement.

DU SKAL VÆLGE ET EMNE.

- Du skal have kontakt med én eller flere danskere
- Projektet varer fra den 9. april til den 19. april
- Du skal skrive dagbog over projektet hver dag
- Du skal lave et oplæg på edb
- Der skal indgå noget, du har læst om det emne, du har valgt

I. PRÆSENTATION

- Fortæl klassen om dit projekt!
- Du skal svare på spørgsmål fra klassen

SAMTALE MED MIG OG CENSOR

- Hvad er du god til
- Hvad skal du især arbejde med

Kontakt til danskere: nogle tog selv kontakt, men de fleste fik en kontakt via mig, og enkelte turde ikke og fik derfor lov til at lade være. Selve ideen om at de skulle have kontakt med en dansker kom sig af, at en del af eleverne gentagne gange havde udtrykt, at de ingen kontakt havde til danskere i deres hverdag.

Emnerne de valgte: Århus By, hospital, kunst, fodbold, fodbold og lystfiskeri, plejehjem, min familie - en muslimsk familie, en børnehave, resume af en bog og blomsterbinding.

Samarbejdet kom ind på flg måde: I den periode hvor eleverne arbejdede med projektet, skulle de i skiftende grupper på klassen fortælle hinanden, hvad de lavede, og hvor langt de var kommet med deres projekt.

Det var efter min mening med til at udvikle deres sprog, at gøre det mere rigtigt og mere forståeligt: de andre i gruppen skulle og ville! jo hele tiden forstå, hvad der blev sagt, dvs at de tit måtte gentage, omformulere og ændre udtale, og det betød også, at de hjalp hinanden med at afklare meningen, i det der blev sagt.

Min rolle i forhold til projektet var, foruden at kontakte de steder eleverne gerne ville besøge, at være konsulent og at hjælpe, når eleverne stødte ind i vanskeligheder fx i forbindelse med ovenstående aktivitet.

Vi havde også tilknyttet en "frivillig" dansker fra "Lektiehjælpen" i Kroghsgade i Århus. Hende benyttede eleverne meget under projektet, idet de lavede aftaler i fritiden, hvor de snakkede med hende om deres projekt.

Efter 2 uger - der blev til 3 uger - skulle eleverne altså præsentere projektet for klassen, en censor og mig. Dette varede to dage, og det hele blev optaget på video.

Bagefter så censor og jeg en del af videoen sammen med hver enkelt elev. Vi snakkede om, hvad der var godt, og hvad eleven især skulle arbejde med. Og eleven fik et evalueringsskema, som skulle udfyldes hjemme til næste dag.

Alle var interesserede i at lave endnu et projekt, og det gjorde vi efter 6 måneder i stedet for den traditionelle B1 test.

6. Konklusion

Det konstruktivistiske udgangspunkt for undervisningen er, at læring ikke er noget, man kan gøre ved nogen. Læring er elevens eget projekt, hvis den skal have forbindelse til og kunne bruges i hans eller hendes liv, dvs hvis det ikke bare føre til en vis beherskelse af stoffet, der kan anvendes i forbindelse med tests og prøver, men som sandsynligvis hurtigt glemmes igen, eller slet ikke kan anvendes uden for skolen. Nøgleordene i undervisningen var derfor hensynet til den enkelte learner - differentiering og et konstant forsøg på at få eleverne til at tage mere ansvar for deres egen læring og samarbejde. Dette kom til udtryk ved, at eleverne selv (og i grupper) valgte de emner, de ville beskæftige sig med, at de selv valgte, hvad de ville lave som hjemmearbejde, og at de kunne vælge at læse de bøger, de var interesserede i. En anden vigtig faktor var autencitet. Hovedparten af den kommunikation der foregik i klassen var autentisk: når jeg snakkede med den enkelte elev om hans eller hendes dagbog, og de bøger vedkommende havde læst, når de læste det op, de havde skrevet i kreativ skrivning, når de i grupperne skulle blive enige om et emne, når de i projektet var ude og snakke med danskere og i grupper skulle fortælle andre elever, hvad de havde lavet.

Udfordringen til mig var, at jeg hele tiden skulle forholde mig til den enkelte learner for på den bedst mulige måde sammen med ham eller hende, at blive bedre til at vurdere, justere og udvikle. Det har betydet, at jeg har måttet lægge mine kræfter på nye områder. Tidligere var det mere en undervisning, hvor jeg gennemgik stoffet for den samlede klasse og evt gennemgik dem mange gange, og i mange tilfælde uden et tilfredsstillende resultat. Nu ser jeg det mere som min opgave at organisere undervisningen, så jeg får mere tid til dialogen med den enkelte og gruppen. Men det kræver, at jeg giver slip på kontrollen og tror på, at der faktisk sker en læring, også selv om jeg ikke hele tiden har fat i tøjlerne og styrer det hele.

En væsentlig ting jeg har lært af at arbejde ud fra et konstruktivistiske læringsbegreb er, at det ikke nytter noget at "bebrejde" eleverne, at de ikke lærer noget: fordi de er "skole-svage", fordi de ikke kommer i skole, fordi de er ukoncentrerede og nervøse, fordi de ikke tager ansvar for egen læring, ikke vil samarbejde, ikke kan sidde stille i ret lang tid af gangen ol. Det handler om at få en dialog i stand, for at man sammen med eleven kan definere, hvordan vedkommende kommer videre. Men det handler ikke om, at læreren ikke må stille krav, men opfyldelsen af disse krav skal diskuteres med den enkelte elev. Kravene som sådan er ikke til diskussion i klassesammenhængen. De er udtrykt i lovbekendtgørelser og for nogle skolers vedkommende i lokale læseplaner. Autonom undervisning er altså ikke laissez faire- eller "festival" pædagogik. Det er en pædagogik, der bygger på en antropologi, der siger, at man ikke kan putte erkendelse og læring ind i det enkelte menneske udefra. Diskussionen af selve læringsbegrebet er en utrolig vigtig del af undervisningen. Ikke en teoretiske diskussion, men samtalen om, hvordan vi lærer, og hvad vi kan bruge det lærte til. Det er denne holdningspåvirkning eller attitydepåvirkning der bl.a. forekommer hvor samfundets krav (lovbekendtgørelser og læseplaner) og elevernes forventninger (tidligere erfaringer med at gå i skole) støder sammen. Og det er ofte en vanskelig og langvarig proces, hvor det ledende spørgsmål må være: Kan du bruge det lærte i dit liv?

De fleste sproglærere er enige om, at motivation er en afgørende faktor, når det gælder sprogtilegnelse. Her er det vigtigt at holde fast i, at en sådan motivation ikke er noget, der nødvendigvis er til stede i learneren som en forudsætning, når denne fx starter sin sprogtilegnelse. Motivationen er noget der skabes i den sociale kontekst, dvs i kontakten med danskere og i undervisningen. Det er i den forbindelse vigtigt at forstå, at det i sidste ende er learnerens afgørelse, hvor meget dansk vedkommende har behov for.[8] Det er altså ikke mit ansvar at learneren lærer dansk, men det er mit ansvar, hele tiden at give ham eller hende de bedste muligheder for at lære dansk. Grundene til at learneren ikke lærer noget kan være mangfoldige: socio-kulturelle forhold, psykiske årsager mm. Det er grunde, som vi som lærere ikke har magt over. En undervisning der tager udgangspunkt i en konstruktivistisk teori vil efter min mening medføre en inddragelse af mange andre fagområder end det lingvistiske: sociologi, psykologi, filosofi, etik, interkulturel kommunikation for at nævne nogle. Og alle disse fagområder skal i sidste ende bruges til at læreren forholder sig til sig selv og den enkelte learner i klassen. Det betyder ikke, at arbejdet som lærer bliver mindre kompliceret og mindre arbejdskrævende, eller at vi får løsningerne droppet ned i vores turban. Den konstruktivistiske teori er ikke en pæn teori om det perfekte eller den perfekte metode. Den er netop ikke metode, men en holdning, hvor vi konstant må have øjnene åbne for nye måder at gøre tingene på.

Noter

1 Glasersfeld har valgt at kalde sin konstruktivismeteori "radikal", fordi den adskiller sig fra de udlægninger af Piagets konstruktivisme, der var fremherskende i USA i 70'erne. Disse var udelukkende optaget af hans idé om, at børn gradvis opbygger deres kognitive strukturer. De fastholdt et substantielt/ontologisk vidensbegreb (Glasersfeld 1995: 18)

2 Udtrykket "billeder" rives her løs fra sin traditionelle tilknytning til det visuelle system. Et billede defineres her som en samtidig repræsentation af elementer, uanset hvilken sansekanal, der er tale om. Derfor kan billeder være både auditive, taktile, kinæstetiske, lugtmæssige og naturligvis også visuelle, samt i alle tænkelige kombinationer og overgange mellem disse sanseformer. (jf også Larsen 1996, side 100-106)

3 Denne dialog er det modsatte af den traditionelle spørge-svare metode. Det er vigtigt at vænne eleverne til, at det er dem selv, der skal stille spørgsmålene. I det hele taget er en konstant påvirkning af elevernes holdning til det at lære utrolig vigtig. Spor 2 eleverne (se note 5) er nemlig ofte voksne mennesker, der for længe siden har taget en grunduddannelse i deres hjemland, hvorefter de har arbejdet i mange år. Det betyder, at de er socialiserede til en bestemt måde at gå i skole på, en måde der groft sagt går på, at det lærte skal kunne bruges i skolen i forbindelse med tests og prøver. Her er det vigtigt, at man som lærer hele tide prøver på at få eleven til at knytte an til sit liv uden for skolen. Se i denne forbindelse Oliviera & Berggren 1997, der bl.a. handler om nødvendigheden af denne attitydepåvirkning.

4 Eleverne er på vores skole inddelt i 3 spor. Spor 1 er analfabeter, spor 3 er de elever, der har forudsætningerne for at få en videregående uddannelse i Danmark og spor 2 er så de elever, der ikke er spor 1 og spor 3. (Læseplan for Indvandrerundervisning Spor 2. Århus Amt 1995)

5 Steen Larsen (1994) taler om, at mange eksperimenter måske mislykkes, fordi læreren skal bruge ekstra energi på hele tiden at etablere alternative fysiske rammer og Åse Munkholm Andersen (1990) skriver om et andet aspekt af denne problemstilling, nemlig de psykiske barrierer læreren kan have over for etableringen af alternative fysiske rammer. Det hun kalder "kaosangst".

6 Barnes (1977) siger om selvværd og ligeværd: "I mange klasser vil det ikke være muligt at få et frugtbart gruppearbejde i gang, før man gennem lang tid har ladet eleverne opleve gennem forskellige arbejdsformer i klassen, at deres meninger har vægt og er af betydning for udviklingen af viden i klasseværelset - både set fra lærerens og deres egen synsvinkel" (Barnes: 125), og Thorsøe (1996, side 57-58)) beskriver, hvordan gruppearbejde ofte fører til at (nogle) elever bliver bedre til at organisere - ikke til at samarbejde.

7 Therese Hauge 1993: 5.

8 I Læseplanen for Spor 2 (Århus Amt 1995) tales der om "et pidginiseret dansk på et niveau under overlevelsesivau" (side 3). Det lyder jo "dødbringende", men det, det måske er mest dødbringende for, er at læreren spilder sine kræfter på en front, hvor de slet ikke har nogen effekt. Hvem bestemmer nemlig, hvad overlevelsesniveau er? Ja, det gør learneren. Et eksempel: jeg underviste en bosnisk mand, som havde et meget lille sprog, som han efter min mening ikke kunne klare sig med i Danmark, men han var ikke interesseret i at lære mere. Da jeg lærte ham at kende, viste det sig, at han havde 42 famliemedlemmer inden for en radius af 30 km fra, hvor han boede, og at han i flere år dels havde arbejdet hos sin nabo - en dansk landmand - og godt kunne snakke med ham, og dels gik på heldagsjagtture med en anden dansk nabo. Jeg mente altså ikke, at han kunne klare sig, men han "overlevede" faktisk og havde mere kontakt til danskere, end mange af de flygtninge, jeg ellers har undervist!

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Hans Basbøll:

Nyt om stødet i moderne rigsdansk – om samspillet mellem lydstruktur, ordgrammatik og kognitive principper

(PLURIDICTA 35, APRIL 1998)

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Denne artikel (i "working paper-format") er en revideret og udvidet version af et foredrag jeg har holdt i Videnskabernes Selskab 9. oktober 1997 og i Lingvistkredsen i København 18. november 1997, samt i et par yderligere sammenhænge, bl.a. ved Institut for Sprog og Kommunikation ved Odense Universitet. Jeg takker diskussionsdeltagerne for kritiske spørgsmål og gode bemærkninger. En særlig varm tak går til Eli Fischer-Jørgensen og Nina Grønnum for vedholdende kritiske kommentarer og spørgsmål til mine analyser og modeller, i en løbende meningsudveksling om schwa-assimilation og stød. Poul Lindegård Hjorth takkes for gode råd og uundværlig bistand (da en slem forkølelse havde fjernet min stemme) i forbindelse med arrangementet 9. oktober. Også tak til Dorthe Bleses for værdifulde diskussioner af min models relevans for sprogtilegnelsen og omvendt, af sprogtilegnelsens relevans for min model.

Den lydstrukturelle del af min analysemodel var genstand for min forelæsning 6. februar 1998 på symposiet i anledning af Jørgen Rischels afgang som professor i fonetik ved Købnhavns Universitet og vil blive trykt (på engelsk) i et særbind af *Travaux du Cercle linguistique de Copenhague* (som Basbøll 1998a). De dele af min analysemodel der vedrører ordstruktur og grammatik, vil få hovedvægten i et planlagt bidrag til *Danske Studier 1998*, og jeg vil herudover fremlægge mine hovedresultater på det internationale symposium om *Current Trends in Phonology II* (Royaumont 22.-24. juni 1998).

Når jeg nedenfor taler om *dansk* , og siger *fx* at "der er stød i *hus*", så mener jeg hermed altid den valgte sprogform (moderne københavnsk rigsmål); oftest vil også alle eller de fleste andre rigsmåls- og nogle rigsmåls-nære sprogformer være dækket af udsagnet, *men absolut ikke alle sprogformer der med rette kan kaldes danske!*

Da arbejdet her i udpræget grad repræsenterer *work in progress*, modtager jeg med taknemmelighed kommentarer af enhver art.

Odense, 14. april 1998

Hans Basbøll
Institut for Sprog og Kommunikation
Odense Universitet
Campusvej 55
5230 Odense M
<hba@language.ou.dk>

Hans Basbøll:

Nyt om stødet i moderne rigsdansk – om samspillet mellem lydstruktur, ordgrammatik og kognitive principper

Resumé:

I 1948 sagde Louis Hjelmslev (1951:12): "For hvert sprog frembyder den strukturelle analyse visse særlige problemer, som hele analysen må koncentreres om; ...i dansk er hovedproblemet stødet...". Nedenfor vil jeg præsentere konturerne af en sammenhængende beskrivelse af støddistributionen i moderne rigsdansk. Herunder foreslår jeg en løsning af nogle centrale, men drilagtige problemer i stødanalysen, bl.a. hvordan alternationer som *cola* , best. form *colaen* (med forlængelse af *a* og stødtilkomst), skal beskrives og forklares. Her spiller schwa-assimilation en central rolle, og jeg foreslår en fonologisk analyse af denne for dansk så karakteristiske proces. Jeg vil generelt lægge vægt på stødforhold der er produktive og dermed reelle for sprogbrugerne, og ikke blot – for sprogbrugerne tilfældige – historiske relikter. Forskellen mellem produktive og ikke-produktive endelser (ved bøjning og afledning) er afgørende for mit analyseforslag, og jeg foreslår en tværsproglig model for ordstruktur byggende på systematisk gradueret produktivitet af endelser; modellen har betydning for såvel morfologi og leksikon som fonologi. Afslutningsvis vil nogle konsekvenser af forslaget for andre dele af sprogbeskrivelsen (som sprogtilegnelse og sproghistorie) blive omtalt.

1. Indledning

"Det er som om der ved stødet er noget lokkende, som om forskeren, blot han trænger dybt nok ned i emnet, får lovning på at kunne forstå og (bort)forklare stødet".

Således skrev fonetikeren (og grammatikeren) Steffen Heger, med let ironisk penneføring, i 1980 (s. 78). Jeg vil gerne melde mig som én der er blevet forlokket, og som ikke har opgivet håbet om at der kan findes interessante dybere mekanismer bag det komplekse stødmønster man umiddelbart kan iagttage.

Stødet kan være den eneste lydlige forskel mellem to danske ord, fx *musen* der udtalt med stød er bestemt form af *mus* , men udtalt uden stød bestemt form af *muse* . At stødmønsteret virkelig er komplekst kan illustreres med et par eksempler fra denne artikels overskrift: *stødet* har selv stød ligesom flertal bestemt (pl. def.) form *stødene* , men i den ubestemte (indef.) form *stød* (i både ental (sg.) og flertal (pl.)) er det ikke tilfældet i moderne københavnsk rigsmål (som er hovednorm i denne artikel), men derimod nok i mange ældre sprogformer. *Samspillet* har stød i stavelsen *-spil-* , ligesom det usammensatte navneord (sb.) i bestemt form *spillet* , men ubestemt form *spil* (i både ental og flertal) har ikke stød. Verbet *spille(r)* har hverken stød i præsens eller infinitiv, eller i præteritum *spillede* eller præt. participium *spillet* , men derimod i imperativen *spil!* I sammensatte former som *afspille, afspillede* osv. er der stød på roden *-spil-* , også i grammatiske former der ikke har stød i det usammensatte verbum *spille*. (Om morfologiske stødalternationer, se Janikowski 1982 og Orešnik 1979).

Den første der beskrev det danske stød var den største danske sprogforsker før Rasmus Rask, Jens Pedersen Høysgaard, som blev født i Aarhus i 1698 og døde i København i 1773 efter en karriere først som universitetspedel, og fra 1759, efter at han havde skrevet banebrydende værker om lydlære og grammatik, som klokker ved Trinitatis Kirke. Han beskrev stødet som *et meget lidet hik*, og opstillede fire såkaldte åndelav, som med moderne terminologi kan kaldes prosodiske stavelsestyper, jf. fig. 1.

	Med stød	Uden stød
Lang vokal	*pæn* [pɛ:'n] *a* [æ:']	*pæne* ['pɛ:nə] (1. stav.) *ane* ['æ: nə] (1. stav.)
Kort vokal	*pen* [pɛn'] *and* [an'] *telt* [tɛl'd]	*ven* [vɛn] *kat* [kad] *ja* [ja]

fig. 1

Efter Høysgaard har talrige især danske sprogforskere beskæftiget sig med stødet, lejlighedsvis også berømte lingvister hvis hovedindsats er faldet på områder fjernt fra det danske stød, fx Karl Verner og Holger Pedersen. Det vigtigste værk om stødets forekomst i moderne dansk rigssprog (i vid forstand) er stadig Aage Hansens monografi fra 1943.

Der er ikke fra internationalt hold kommet afgørende nye bud på løsningen af de egentlige stødproblemer (jf. Basbøll 1989a). Derimod rejser stødet mange spørgsmål til de forskellige fonologiske og morfologiske teorier der er på markedet, og det er derfor en udfordring for enhver lingvistisk teori at vise at stødet overhovedet kan analyseres inden for teoriens rammer, og helst naturligvis også at sige noget nyt og interessant om stødet (om stødets repræsentation i dependensfonologien, se Anderson, Ewen & Staun 1985 og Staun 1987).

Jeg skal ikke i dette arbejde gå ind i nogen længere drøftelse af de teoretiske forudsætninger for min(e) analysemodel(ler). Det er dog praktisk allerede nu at nævne nogle "greb" som jeg af principielle metodiske grunde ikke accepterer her, selv om de alle har været benyttet i faglitteraturens stød-analyser (flere af dem endda af mig selv). Det har indtil nu ikke vist sig muligt at foretage noget der blot nærmer sig en eksplicit, sammenhængende og omfattende stødanalyse uden at anvende i det mindste nogle af nedenstående "greb":
(1) ændringer fra +stød til -stød (evt til +stød igen), eller omvendt (i den nedenfor foreslåede analysemodel kan et én gang tilskrevet stød eller ikke-stød ikke ændres), jf. *vand, vande, afvande*;
(2) undtagelser til stød-regler, jf. *slanke, beske*;
(3) forskellige endelser der er segmentalt identiske overalt, jf. *hanner, venner*;
(4) forskellige grænser der ikke forudsiges af uafhængige kriterier, jf. *fladt, fadt*;
(5) endelser der markeres for +stød eller -stød, jf. *hanner, summer*.

2. *Produktivt stød*

Den forrige franske premierminister hed som bekendt *Alain Juppé*. Efternavnet udtales med stemt [ʒ] , med [p] uden pust (mindende om et dansk [b] , dog lidt stærkere artikuleret), og med et [e] til sidst der tit er lidt lavere end et dansk [e] : [ʒ y ' p e] . Men det er altså den franske udtale. Når vi taler dansk, tilnærmer vi udtalen efter danske vaner, og det gælder også personer der udmærket kan udtale fx et stemt [ʒ] , og som gør det når de taler fransk. På dansk siger vi *Juppé* med vores danske ustemte sj-lyd først (tilnærmet [ʃ], ikke så langt fra den engelske lyd), med tydeligt pust på [p] -et, og med et normalt dansk [e] til sidst: I international fonetisk transskription (IPA), normeret efter dansk behov (som vil blive brugt i denne artikel): [ʃ y ' p e] , med finere IPA-transskription [ʃ y ' b̥ h e ˔] (eller med et andet symbol for den initiale sibilant).

Hermed er *Juppé* så blevet et (i hvert fald halvt) dansk ord, og så kan det bøjes. Jeg kan fx sige: *der er for mange Juppé´er i fransk politik*, fx i den betydning at farveløse superuddannede administratorer besætter for mange topposter på bekostning af mere folkelige politikertyper, eller evt. at hans familiemedlemmer har sat sig for tungt til rette i administrationen (hvad jeg slet ikke ved noget om, i parentes bemærket). Der er kun én mulighed for at danne en flertalsform af *Juppé* , nemlig med endelsen *-er* og med samtidig forlængelse af det trykstærke [e] ; og, af særlig interesse i vores sammenhæng, med stød på [e] hvad der ikke var i ental: [ʃ y ' p e : ' ɐ] . Andre på forhånd tænkelige flertalsformer, med fx *-e* , eller uden endelse, eller måske med *-s* , kan ikke bruges. Og det er heller ikke muligt, i det moderne danske rigsmål jeg tager udgangspunkt i (og som er hovednorm i moderne udtaleordbøger), at bruge endelsen *-er* uden at forlænge [e] og sætte stød til: *Juppé ´er* uden stød er out, som det hedder på nudansk.

Man kan også mene at der er for få *Zola´er* i moderne fransk litteratur. Når (med fransk udtale:) *Émile Zola* [z o ' l a] udtales på dansk er hovedforskellen fra den franske udtale at vi bruger et ganske almindeligt ustemt [s] , og ikke det stemte [z] : [s o ' l a] (forskelle mellem de danske og franske vokalkvaliteter noterer jeg ikke her). Men i flertalsformen *Zola´er* sker der yderligere det at sidste vokal forlænges (ligesom i *Juppé´er*), og, som noget nyt i forhold til *Juppé´er*, at dette *a* får en tydeligt anden kvalitet, det bliver et såkaldt "fladt *a* " som vi har i *hane* , og ikke det mere neutrale a som i *han* (en vokal der ligger tættere på det franske *a*): [s o ' l æ : ' ɐ] . Igen er andre flertalsformer ikke mulige i den her valgte norm, bl.a. er en form med *-er* uden forlængelse og den ændring af vokalkvaliteten som spøgefuldt kan kaldes "forfladigelse", udelukket: det er næppe muligt for en normal bruger af fx moderne københavnsk rigsmål at vride sådan rundt med taleorganerne at resultatet kan blive *Zola´er* udtalt med kort [a] uden stød: * [s o ' l a ɐ] . Dette skyldes ikke nogen begrænsninger ved menneskets taleorganer eller åndelige udrustning i almindelighed, men hænger sammen med hvad sprogbrugerne har lært i og med at de lærte sproget. At [a] ´et i *Zola´er* automatisk bliver både længere og fladere, og får stød, peger på at ændringerne ved flertalsdannelsen i sådanne tilfælde blot afspejler lydstrukturen efter at flertalsendelsen er blevet føjet til grundordet, selvom det ikke beskrives sådan i faglitteraturen; det er ikke en tillært alternation der er karakteristisk for nogle bestemte ord, som fx en flertalsform som *fødder* .

Formodentlig har ikke mange af mine læsere hørt flertalsformerne *Juppé'er, Zola'er* før, og jeg har selv lavet dem til formålet her. Det kan naturligvis ikke helt udelukkes at andre skulle have konstrueret dem før mig, men det er ligegyldigt for argumentationen. Afgørende er at sprogbrugerne ikke har lært disse former, men nårsomhelst kan danne dem efter behov. Med andre ord kan vi straks afvise den hypotese at stød eller ikke-stød udelukkende er en egenskab ved den enkelte ordform som må læres ved hver form for sig: *der findes* ***produktive*** *"regler" (eller principper) som medfører at nogle ordformer har stød.*

En anden produktiv stødregel afhænger som allerede antydet af ordklasser: Hvis man sammenligner substantivet (navneordet) og verbet (udsagnsordet) *udtale* , kan man høre at det første er stødløst mens det andet har stød: *en udtale, at udtale* . Der er tilsyneladende en generel regel der siger at verber med en foransat stavelse (hvadenten det er et ubetonet præfiks som fx *be-, an-* eller et betonet småord som fx præpositionen *med-* eller adverbiet *ud-*) får stød. Den gælder også helt nye dannelser og ad hoc-former som *udbejdse* eller *indvande, bevande* , så den er altså produktiv og dermed psykologisk reel for sprogbrugeren, i én eller anden form. Men hvorfor er der så ikke stød i fx *betakke sig* ? Det er naturligt nok fordi den stavelse der skulle have stødet, ikke opfylder dét uafviselige krav til lydstrukturen for *en stødstavelse* at den *skal have enten langvokal eller også kortvokal fulgt af en sonor konsonant*, dvs. en konsonant der er så klangfuld at man kan synge på den ([l , n] osv.), jf. fig. 1. Dette krav optræder i praktisk talt hele faglitteraturen under betegnelsen **stød-basis** som noget uundværligt i beskrivelsen: Enhver regel for hvilke stavelser der har eller får stød, hvadenten den er formuleret ud fra grammatiske kategorier, orddannelseselementer, stavelsestal, frekvens eller noget helt andet, *forudsætter at den pågældende stavelse har stød-basis.* (Yderligere gælder det at stavelser må have en vis grad af tryk for at kunne have stød; denne betingelse vil ikke blive drøftet nærmere her, jf. Basbøll 1995 og 1998a, men den stemmer efter min opfattelse fint med den følgende analyse).

3. *Moraanalysen*

Vi vil nu se lidt nærmere på de enkelte stavelsestyper (fig. 1 fortsat). Første stavelse i ordet *ane* består blot af en lang vokal uden stød. Det lange *a* har, som ethvert andet langt *a* (der ikke lige står ved siden af et *r*) den "flade" kvalitet [æ :] . Hvis vi udtaler den samme vokal isoleret, enten som bogstavnavn eller som ordet *af* [æ : '], har den stød. Såvel længden som kvaliteten (nøjagtig den samme "flade" udtale som i *ane*) viser at stødvokalen er en ægte langvokal og ikke en kortvokal som i *han* , og det støttes i øvrigt entydigt af andre relevante argumenter. Stødet er en art knirkestemme der begynder inde i vokalen efter at der er gået ca. en kortvokals tid. (Jeg henviser generelt til Eli Fischer-Jørgensens store stødundersøgelse fra 1987 om det fonetiske).

Nogle langvokaler, nemlig dem med stød, brækker altså så at sige over i to halvdele (to faser), hvoraf den første forekommer normal (selv om den i en række henseender kan vises at forberede stødfasen, se Fischer-Jørgensen 1987), og den anden tydeligt har en særlig stemmekvalitet: en såkaldt laryngalisering (efter latin *larynx* ´strube´). At denne opdeling i to faser er perceptuelt vigtig antyder en pilottest (Thorsen 1974): en gruppe fonetikere kunne identificere en stødvokal som sådan selv om sidste del af den blev fjernet, blot en lille del af anden fase var med, hvad flertallet ikke kunne hvis hele anden fase var væk. Alt dette passer sammen med hvad man i Pragfonologien har beskrevet ved hjælp af begrebet **morae** (efter latin *mora* ´forhaling´, bl.a. brugt i verslæren som mål for stavelsesvægt eller -kvantitet).

Både Roman Jakobson og N. S. Trubetzkoy, de to førende Pragfonologer, har nævnt det danske stød som et morafænomen, uden dog at analysere det nærmere. Morabegrebet har i parentes bemærket en lang historie, og morae i forskellige fortolkninger er bl.a. benyttet i studiet af oldgræsk, af ældre germansk metrik, og af japansk, men det kan jeg ikke diskutere her. Den yderst kompetente russiske germanist Anatoly Liberman har i et imponerende – kontroversielt – arbejde analyseret nordisk accentuation (1982), i en omfattende sproghistorisk og sproggeografisk sammenhæng, ud fra et morabegreb der imidlertid modsat mit er abstrakt – fjernt fra det fonetiske. Liberman koncentrerer sig om den rent fonologiske og ikke den grammatiske side af accentuationen i (nord)germansk. Jeg skal i øvrigt tilføje at begrebet *mora* er blevet brugt dækkende en række vægt- eller kvantitetsfænomener i forskellige sprog, og det er diskutabelt i hvilken grad *mora* er et enhedsbegreb (er homogent). Dette spørgsmål tager jeg ikke stilling til her, se diskussionen i Basbøll 1998a (hvor jeg opererer med ´x´ som vægtenhed i stavelsen, i lighed med Hyman 1985 og Basbøll 1988, 1989b).

Som det fremgår af flere kapitler i den førende moderne håndbog i fonologisk teori (Goldsmith 1995), anvendes stavelsesstrukturer med morae i dag af mange fonologer. Jeg kan med et lille erindringsglimt belyse denne udvikling fra et historisk videnskabssociologisk synspunkt. Jeg forelagde for første gang en moraanalyse af stødet i en gæsteforelæsning i november 1986 ved MIT/Harvard hvor Morris Halle var vært, med Larry Hymans bog om fonologisk vægt (1985) som vigtigste inspirationskilde. Ingen ville indgå i en principiel diskussion om modellen, for som Halle sagde "That´s not the way we do it here" (eksistensen af Hymans bog var kendt, men den havde altså ikke haft nogen effekt overhovedet). Et halvt år senere diskuterede jeg igen min moraanalyse (publiceret som Basbøll 1988), på et ret lille møde i Cortona men ét med en stærk repræsentation af bl.a. dygtige amerikanske fonologer; ingen af dem benyttede nogen form for morae i deres foredrag selv om emnerne indbød til det. På næste Cortona-møde et par år efter handlede en stor del af de amerikanske bidrag om morae. Hvad var der sket i mellemtiden? Var der fundet et hidtil ubeskrevet sprog hvori morae sprang én lige i øjnene? eller var eksistensen af morae blevet påvist på en helt ny måde, fx ved fonetiske målinger eller psykolingvistiske tests? Næh, der var i mellemtiden udkommet en artikel om morae i det kanoniserede MIT-tidsskrift "Linguistic Inquiry", skrevet af Bruce Hayes (1989) der ikke blot som Larry Hyman er en kompetent og internationalt velanskreven fonolog, men som hører med i det centrale MIT-netværk, og denne artikel refererede alle til uafbrudt. Jeg lader denne lille lingvistiske udviklingshistorie tale for sig selv.

Anvendelsen af termen *mora* i det følgende dækker primært at stavelseskernen og dermed stavelsen kan være enten let eller tung; man kunne i stedet tale om *vægtenhed* (´x´). Fig. 2 viser hvordan jeg i det følgende vil angive lydstrukturen.

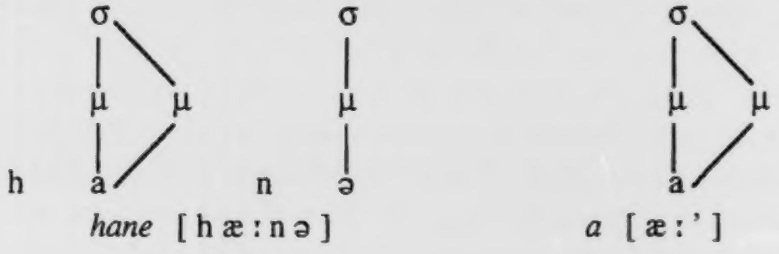


fig. 2

Træstrukturen med σ (for **stavelse**) og μ (for **mora**) betegner bl.a. at *a* (bogstavnavnet) er ét vokalsegment som tæller 2 morae. Efter denne opfattelse er moraen en vægtenhed for stavelsen. Stavelsesvægten afgøres af stavelseskernen, den centrale del af stavelsen som indeholder stavelsestoppen, typisk en vokal. Figurerne udtrykker (1) at der er to stavelser i *hane*, én i *a* ; (2) at de to *a* ´er er lange, og at schwa er kort; (3) at anden stavelse i første eksempel har én mora, de to andre stavelser to; (4) at en initial konsonant, selv om den naturligvis hører til stavelsen, ikke er med til at afgøre stavelsens tyngde. Sidste punkt kan slet ikke meddeles igennem en normal ("segmentaliseret") transskription, og de andre kun indirekte, afhængigt af notationens konventioner. *På figurerne i hele dette arbejde er kun angivet de streger der forbinder μ (morae) med σ (stavelser) og segmenter (vokaler og konsonanter m.v.).* Stavelser kan have 1 mora og kaldes da lette, de kan have 2 morae og kaldes så tunge, og i nogle sprog findes der stavelser med 3 morae, og de betegnes overtunge, se fig. 3.

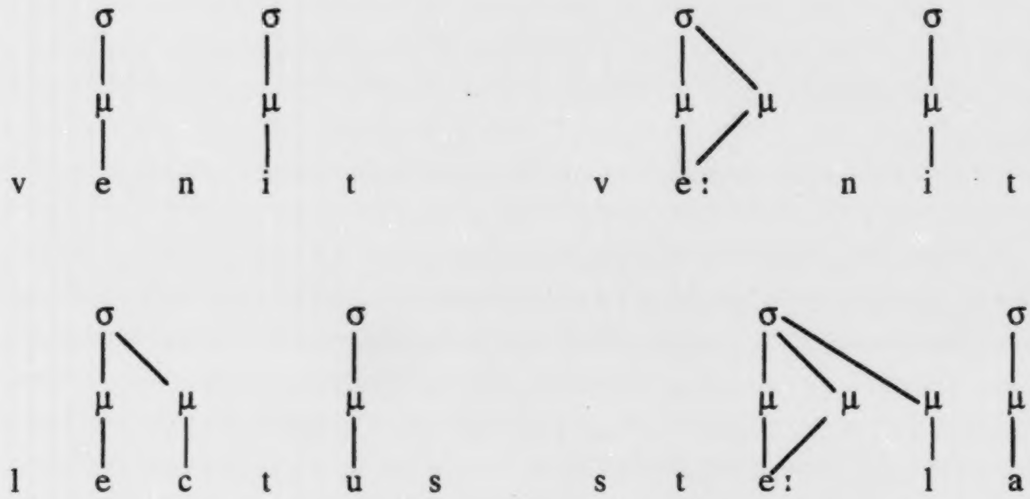


fig. 3

Disse muligheder for stavelsesvægt findes alle tre i fx klassisk latin, som det ses af figuren (det centrale i fig. 3 er (den trykstærke) første stavelses vægt; ordfinale konsonanter repræsenterer særlige forhold som ikke kan drøftes her): **let** *venit* : han kommer, **tung** *ve:nit* : han kom (perfektum) eller *lectus* : seng, **overtung** *ste:l:a=ste:lla* : stjerne (vokallængderne kan bl.a. ses af udviklingen i romanske sprog samt af metrik, grammatikker m.m.). I moderne dansk findes der lette og tunge stavelser, men ikke overtunge, noget jeg vender tilbage til om lidt.

Hvis vi går tilbage til fig. 2, kan vi se at stødet (her: i ordet *a*) er bundet til den 2. mora i stavelsen: man kan sige at stød er signal for en tung stavelse, og stødet sætter ind ved begyndelsen af den 2. mora. Stødets begyndelsespunkt synes at være bestemt af vokalens begyndelse, se Fischer-Jørgensen 1987, hvilket stemmer med den her foreslåede moraanalyse. (I øvrigt er 1. mora normalt længere end 2. mora – tydeligst når de to morae hører til forskellige segmenter – i overensstemmelse med at stavelsestoppen falder i 1. mora.) Specielt når det gælder stødvokaler, er moraanalysen ikke noget meget abstrakt, men en del af selve lydstrukturen, på samme måde som fx stavelser eller vokaler indgår i lydstrukturen (selvom de er abstraktioner i forhold til den fonetiske substans). Hvis vores stødanalyse skal være konsekvent, må vi også sige at stødstavelser med kortvokal er tunge (som *pen* [p ɛ n ']), dvs. at stødkonsonanten, der jo altid er sonor og står umiddelbart efter vokalen, må være knyttet til en mora. Jeg vil da udforske den hypotese at den fjerde stavelsestype endende på sonor konsonant der er eksemplificeret på fig. 1, nemlig *ven* (med kortvokal fulgt af stødløs sonor konsonant: [v ɛ n]), kun har én mora (er let), således som det vises på fig. 4; herved får slutkonsonanten i *ven* samme status (uden mora) som fx i *kat*.

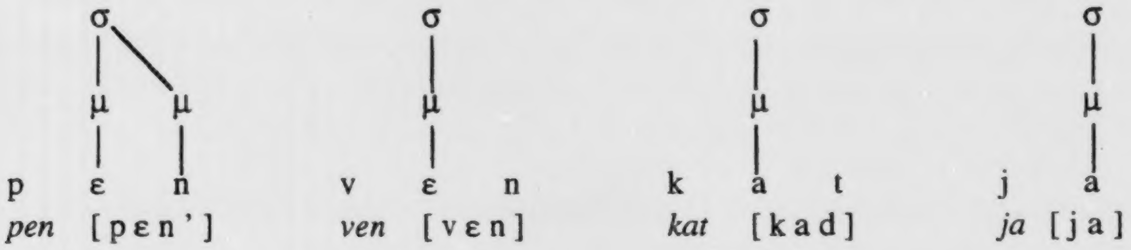


fig. 4

To konsekvenser følger af denne hypotese: (1) stødet i *vend!* [v ɛ n '] må forventes at begynde når den moriske konsonant begynder (snarere end et stykke henne i denne konsonant, eller lige efter konsonanten som man godt kunne tro ud fra den normale transskription hvor man sætter stødsymbolet efter konsonantsymbolet); (2) stødkonsonanten [n] i *vend!* må forventes at være længere end den tilsvarende stødløse konsonant i *ven* (da morae som vægt- eller kvantitetsenheder har konsekvenser for længdeforhold i stavelsen).

Begge disse konsekvenser stemmer (det er naturligvis ikke noget bevis for min analyses rigtighed, kun en støtte). Det er særlig interessant at se på kvantiteterne. Stødkonsonanter er signifikant længere end tilsvarende konsonanter i stavelser uden stød (som påvist af Riber Petersen 1973 og Fischer-Jørgensen 1987). Den Store Danske Udtaleordbog (Brink et al. 1991, herefter forkortet SDU) angiver (s. 88) at længden af stødkonsonanter er ca. 130 pct. af tilsvarende ikke-stødte. Dette tal er altså i overensstemmelse med, og støtter derfor i én eller anden grad (men beviser selvsagt ikke), dén hypotese at nasalen i *vend!* er "morisk", dvs. forbundet til en mora, modsat den i *ven* .

Derimod er længden af stødvokaler mindre end af tilsvarende stødløse langvokaler; SDU (ibid.) angiver for distinkt tale at en stødvokal er ca. 85 pct. af en langvokal uden stød. De nøjagtige tal er ikke afgørende her, men tendensen til en vis forkortelse af en langvokal med stød i tydelig udtale – og i hvert fald ikke nogen systematisk forlængelse – men en stabil og signifikant væsentlig forlængelse af en sonor konsonant med stød (i begge tilfælde sammenlignet med et tilsvarende segment i samme position men uden stød) holder givetvis (se Fischer-Jørgensen 1987, specielt s. 96-99).

Længden af danske stødkonsonanter sammenlignet med tilsvarende konsonanter uden stød (i samme position og under samme betingelser) svarer til hvad Claes-Christian Elert (1964) har fundet for de konsonanter i svensk som der er almindelig enighed om at kalde lange, og som er tydeligt længere end de tilsvarende (stødløse) danske. Det kan endvidere nævnes at i en kompetent moderne norsk lærebog i fonetik og fonologi, nemlig Rolf Theil Endresens (1991:123f), nævnes de norske lange konsonanter som moriske i en illustration af en moraanalyse, se i øvrigt Kristoffersen 1992. Jeg vender tilbage til norsk/svensk nedenfor.

Min moraanalyse betyder en principiel forenkling af hele stødbeskrivelsen: der kan herudfra ikke tænkes regler der indfører stød (og sådanne regler optræder hyppigt i faglitteraturen), kun regler der siger at en tung stavelse under givne betingelser ikke har stød: Når stød er signal for en tung stavelse (nemlig for anden mora i en stavelse), så har tunge stavelser "automatisk" stød (medmindre de bliver ramt af en ikke-stød-regel som det vil blive behandlet nedenfor). Hvis en stavelse er tung får den altså stød uden at vi skal postulere nogen stødregel, og hvis den er let kan den slet ikke have stød. (Man kunne godt konstruere en model med en moraanalyse hvor man også havde regler der indførte stød, men det ville klart være en umotiveret komplikation i mit system, og derfor metodisk utilladeligt). Og endnu vigtigere: *som konsekvens af denne stødanalyse kan vi helt undvære begrebet stød-basis* : da stødet er signal for 2.

mora i sin stavelse, er det en trivialitet at kun tunge stavelser, altså stavelser med to morae, kan have stød.

Ud fra denne analyse er det altså en **nødvendig, men ikke tilstrækkelig betingelse for stød i en stavelse at denne er tung (har 2 morae).** Vi skal derfor i det følgende se nærmere på de to situationer der synes at være i konflikt med det her foreslåede princip: dels de tilfælde hvor et ord på en let stavelse får stød når der tilføjes bestemte endelser (typen *Juppé'er, sofaen, føllet*), dels de tilfælde hvor en tung stavelse ikke har stød (typen *væne* , *tale*).

Men først vil vi stille spørgsmålet: er moraanalysen ikke bare en anden måde at inkorporere begrebet stød-basis på? er det ikke blot fordi vi regner alle stavelser som ikke har enten en langvokal eller en kortvokal plus en sonor konsonant, som lette, at vi kan undvære begrebet stød-basis? Hvad er egentlig fordelen ved at operere med morae (eller vægtenheder: 'x')?

Stød-basis er et rent **ad hoc-begreb**: det bruges kun i dansk, og kun til dette ene formål, og det har ikke kontrollerbare konsekvenser i andre dele af sprogbekrivelsen. Derimod sætter moraanalysen det danske stød ind i en langt større sammenhæng, med konsekvenser der kan efterprøves.

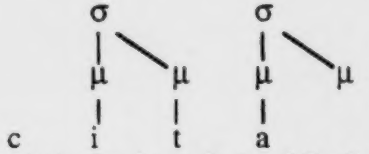
Hvis vi et øjeblik hæver os op over det enkelte sprog, kan vi skelne mellem direkte og indirekte evidens for en moraanalyse. Den **direkte evidens** forekommer hvor vi ud fra fx tonebevægelser kan sige at en langvokal falder i to halvdele der hver har en tonemæssig selvstændighed (altså i to morae); eller hvor en langvokal så at sige kan brække i to dele hvoraf den første, som er ca. lige så lang som en kortvokal, har en normal stemmekvalitet, og den anden en herfra afvigende stemmekvalitet, og hvor forskellen mellem de to er sprogligt relevant, fx således at ord kan skelnes alene ved forskellen mellem om de to halvdele af en langvokal har samme eller forskellig stemmekvalitet. Den sidste situation er den vi har i moderne rigsdansk, og jeg vil altså hævde at moraen manifesteres i den fonetiske substans ligesom fx stavelser eller vokaler gør det.

Det må dog retfærdigvis tilføjes at vi ville have et stærkere og mere entydigt argument for en moraanalyse hvis ikke kun anden mora i stavelsen, men også første, kunne have stød. Det skal også siges at vi ikke i dansk har en generel ækvivalens (i henseende til vægt) mellem 2 lette stavelser og 1 tung stavelse, hvad der i givet fald ville have været et klart indicium på et typisk morasprog. Efter min opfattelse må spørgsmålet om hvorvidt moderne dansk er et morasprog, afgøres ved en større sprogtypologisk undersøgelse hvor selve definitionen på morae er central, jf. Basbøll 1998a. For mit formål her er det afgørende at lydstrukturen har nogle bestemte egenskaber, med bl.a. vægtenheder i stavelseskernen (som det vil fremgå), ikke om dansk skal beskrives som et typisk morasprog, et atypisk morasprog, eller slet ikke som et morasprog.

Den **indirekte evidens for moraanalysen** har at gøre med stavelsesvægt mere generelt. Som vi så på fig. 3 havde man i latin stavelser på såvel 1 som 2 og 3 morae. Hvis vi sammenholder det med dattersproget moderne italiensk ser vi et helt andet stavelsesinventar: trykstærke stavelser er tunge, tryksvage enten tunge eller lette (de kan have lang konsonant men ikke lang vokal). Hele denne voldsomme udvikling (med mange forskellige lydforandringer) kan ses som tilpasninger til hvad lingvisten Theo Vennemann (1986:39) har kaldt Prokoschs Gesetz (opkaldt efter den kendte amerikanske germanist Eduard Prokosch):

Den foretrukne trykstærke stavelse er tung, dvs. har en vægt på 2 morae

Prokoschs Lov fungerer som et strukturkrav på fx moderne italiensk (men altså ikke på klassisk latin), og mange lydforandringer, forkortelser og forlængelser af såvel vokaler som konsonanter, kan ses som tilpasninger hertil. Der er én vigtig ordtype der tilsyneladende strider mod princippet: ord der ender på trykstærk vokal skulle egentlig, hvis de helt skulle følge Prokosch, have lang vokal (på 2 morae), men italienske ord kan ikke ende på lang vokal ifølge en specifik betingelse: en ordrestriktion. Et ord som *città* 'by' kan derfor ansættes med en struktur hvor sidste stavelse har to morae hvoraf den anden hænger frit (fig. 5). Der ansættes to morae p.g.a. det i øvrigt undtagelsesløse princip at trykstærke stavelser er tunge; anden mora er "fri", dvs. ikke forbundet med noget segment, da vokalen er kort og dermed kun forbundet til én mora ud fra analysens generelle principper (konsonantlængde er, modsat vokallængde, kommutabel på standarditaliensk også i tryksvag stilling, derfor kan den nævnte ordrestriktion ikke gives som led i en generel regel for vokallængde).



città [tɕ i t : a] (med finalt tryk)

fig. 5

Hvad sker der så hvis ordet *città* efterfølges af et hermed sammenhængende ord som begynder med en konsonant? Ja, så får vi dét der i moderne italiensk kaldes konsonantfordobling (*raddoppiamento (fono)sintattico* eller *rafforzamento*), en **produktiv** proces (som jo må udtrykke en eller anden form for psykologisk realitet): *città (b)bella,* hvor alle intervokaliske konsonanter er geminerede/lange: [tɕ i t : a b : ɛ l : a] etc., se fig. 6.

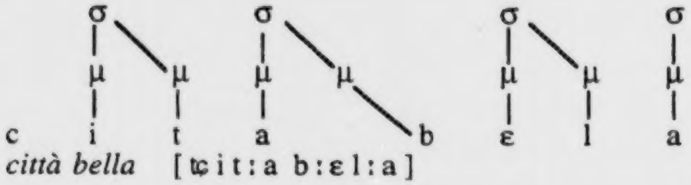


fig. 6

Den mora der er fri når ordet står isoleret (på grund af restriktionen om at ord ikke må ende på lang vokal), bliver altså manifesteret på ganske normal måde, nemlig ved den lange (geminerede) konsonant, når den får mulighed for det. Det kan tilføjes at efter en bestemt gruppe ubetonede småord indtræffer konsonantfordobling også, men i denne situation er der ikke tale om en produktiv proces, derimod om en leksikalsk betinget regel der ikke kan tilskrives samme psykologiske realitet, sml. *la casa, a casa* [l a k a : s a , a k : a : s a] 'huset, hjemme' (med tryk på det lange *a*).

En lignende voldsom kvantitetsudvikling som den vi fandt fra latin til italiensk, genfindes i germanske sprog, herunder nordiske. Faktisk kan man opstille et skema over udviklingsgangen set i morae som i fig. 7 (jf. det mere detaljerede skema i Basbøll 1989b):

	Oldnord.	Mod.Sv./No.	Mod.Da.	
Antal morae i trykstærk stavelse	1, 2, 3	2	1, 2	1
	Latin	Mod.It.	Kons.Fr.	Mod.Par.

fig. 7

Skemaet omfatter kun trykstærke stavelser. Oldnordisk har de samme tre stavelsesvægttyper som latin, og fx moderne norsk og svensk svarer i denne henseende til italiensk.

Moderne dansk svarer i øvrigt, i henseende til stavelsesvægttyper (opstillet ud fra de hér anvendte kriterier), til den franskstandard der blev beskrevet i første halvdel af dette århundrede (af franske lingvister som Maurice Grammont og Pierre Fouché), hvorimod moderne parisisk standard er endnu simplere end dansk i denne forstand, idet distinktiv vokallængde her er forsvundet (se Basbøll 1994a).

Fordelen ved at give denne oversigt i morae er at en lang række lydændringer (delvis også regionalt bestemte), indbefattende både forlængelser og forkortelser af såvel konsonanter som vokaler, kan forstås som udtrykkende samme tendens, som tilpasning til det samme strukturkrav, selv om man altså kan gå fra lette eller overtunge stavelser til tunge på forskellige måder, ad forskellige veje. Alternative beskrivelser bliver dels utroligt indviklede, dels er det meget svært at aflede efterprøvelige konsekvenser fra dem. Det er også metodisk utilfredsstillende i de moderne formelle beskrivelser der benytter komplekse træstrukturer, at hvis det ikke stemmer, så kan man bare "dreje på knapperne", fx indføre krav om nye forgreninger. Moraanalysen er derimod uhyre enkel: trykstærke stavelser kan have én, to eller tre morae (i mange sprog kun én eller to, eller kun to – eller kun én hvis sproget ikke har fonologisk relevant stavelsesvægt), der er virkelig tale om kvanter som de kendes fra helt andre videnskaber.

Ifølge moraanalysen er det også muligt at give en koncis beskrivelse af forskellen mellem moderne dansk og fx svensk og norsk:
1) i dansk kan kun sonore lyd have en mora (sml. *buss, bus* , eller *kasse*, i norsk/svensk og dansk)
2) i dansk, modsat norsk/svensk, er det ikke et strukturkrav at trykstavelser skal være tunge (jf. Prokoschs Lov)
Hvis nogen tvivler på sidste påstand (og det gør mange udenlandske lingvister, specielt germanister, efter min erfaring), vil jeg bede tvivlerne tænke på de mest typiske af alle danske ord: kommer *tøj* , og endnu mere *mad* , og *øl* , ikke fra dybet af den danske folkesjæl? Hvis Prokoschs Lov skulle være et strukturkrav i dansk, burde disse ord hurtigst muligt få stød: de er jo lette selv om de har kortvokal fulgt af sonor konsonant; men der er ikke den fjerneste tendens til at sådanne former får stød: *[tʌĭ’, mað’, øl’] (eller med langvokal: *[tø:’ĭ, mæ:’ð, ø:’l]) er udelukket som udtaleformer af disse ord, og mange ord, som fx *stød, spyd,* er faktisk gået fra en ældre udtale med stød til den moderne rigsmåls-udtale uden: udviklingen fra [sdø:’ð] til [sdøð] er endnu i gang, hvorimod den tilsvarende udvikling fra [sby:’ð] til [sbyð] forlængst er afsluttet (se Brink & Lund 1975:490-492). Disse former viser også at dansk ikke – som norsk, svensk og italiensk – kan være et såkaldt "tonal lengthening language" (med obligatorisk langvokal eller lang konsonant/konsonantgruppe i trykstærk stavelse), således som hævdet af Larsen (ms).

To yderligere pointer ved sammenligningen norsk:dansk fortjener at nævnes:
i) I Nord Gudbrandsdal (NGbr, se Kristoffersen 1992) har man moriske obstruenter såvel som sonoranter (som i norsk, modsat dansk), men både tunge og

lette stavelser i trykstærk stilling (som i dansk, modsat standardnorsk); jeg skal tilføje at Gjert Kristoffersen ikke nævner dansk. At man i NGbr har trykstærke lette stavelser (i fx *lesa, las* af verbet 'læse'), medfører ifølge Kristoffersen (ud fra en moraanalyse) at både vokal- og konsonant-kvantitet bliver distinktiv, hvad jeg principielt er enig med ham i. Se fig. 8.

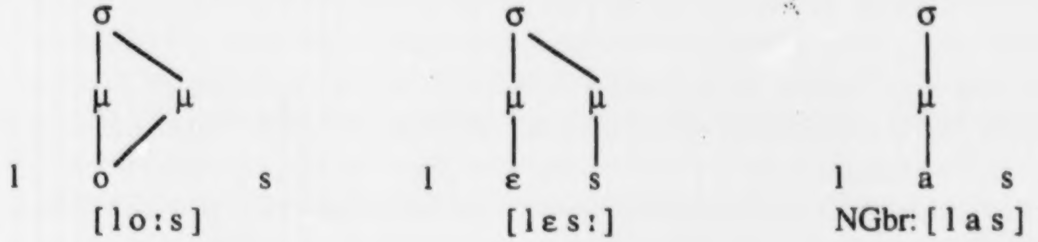


fig. 8

ii) I dansk er der den yderligere restriktion at lange konsonanter ikke kan findes intervokalisk i leksemet. Det må understreges at man ikke bare kan sige at lange konsonanter ikke findes på dansk (heller ikke selv om vi ikke inddrager schwa-assimilation, se nedenfor, og i øvrigt kun ser på distinkt udtale: *balløve, bundne*; især det sidste eksempel er interessant fordi ordet i øvrigt ligner de hjemlige usammensatte ord, og det gælder begge ordtyper at der ikke er alternative udtalemuligheder med schwa: [ə]). Hvis man vil sige (synkront) at *bundne* har langt *n* p.g.a. *bunden* (ptc.), så at der altså alligevel skulle være tale om en form for schwa-bortfald, ja så har man herved overskredet grænsen til noget morfologisk betinget, og taler altså ikke længere om selve lydstrukturen: lydligt har vi således på dansk ord der påfaldende ligner norske ord med gemineret intervokalisk *n*, omend kun i et særdeles begrænset antal og under helt specifikke betingelser.

Om fx de norske moriske konsonanter skal regnes som lange fonemisk set, er i øvrigt et fortolkningsspørgsmål: principielt kan man vælge at lade enten vokallængde eller konsonantlængde være distinktiv i klassisk fonemisk forstand, et valg jeg ikke vil diskutere her, jf. Kristoffersen 1992.

4. Lange konsonanter, morae og schwa-assimilation

Morae er altså ifølge min analyse en reel sproglig enhed der bl.a. viser sig i stødet; da moraen udtrykker stavelsesvægt og har betydning for kvantitetsforhold, kunne man spørge om der da findes lange konsonanter i dansk (jf. norsk/svensk og italiensk) ud over stødkonsonanterne og de ovenfor nævnte eksempeltyper *balløve, bundne* , samt emfatiske forlængelser som jeg ikke inddrager her.

I ældre rigsmål (som endnu kan høres, se Brink & Lund 1975:361-367, jf. Fischer-Jørgensen 1972:146f) havde man en modsætning mellem *lampe* og *jambe*, *stolpe* og *kolbe*, osv., der kunne manifesteres ved længere sonor konsonant foran skriftens *b d g* end foran *p t k* , også efter at klusilerne var faldet sammen. I denne situation kan konsonantlængden altså være distinktiv/fonematisk. Det er min opfattelse at det totale sammenfald man har i (fx) moderne københavnsk rigsmål, hvor *lampe* rimer perfekt på *jambe* , skete "til fordel for" (altså med samme manifestation som) den gamle *bdg* -form (i overensstemmelse med at sammenfaldet mellem klusilerne er sket til fordel for *b d g*), og at den form for moderne københavnsk rigsmål som jeg kender bedst (og det er ikke de unges), har – eller kan have – lange sonoranter i sådanne ord; men jeg er ikke sikker på hvordan længderne er i moderne rigsmål mere generelt (under "generelle vekselforhold" er konsonantlængde omtalt i SDU (s. 1611-1613), men der savnes en større instrumental undersøgelse af danske konsonantlængder). Jeg har tidligere foreslået (i min første moraanalyse, 1988) at der var/er en generel regel som forlængede sonorkonsonant foran konsonant (som altså bl.a. betyder at *lampe* vil rime på *jambe*, med forlænget *m*).

Jeg vil ikke gøre min analyse afhængig af en kontroversiel fonetisk opfattelse af nogle specielle former, og min moraanalyse kan udmærket opretholdes selv om jeg skulle tage fejl med hensyn til *lampe* osv. Men en række målinger som Eli Fischer-Jørgensen har foretaget (1984:106ff &124, se Basbøll 1995:33) har givet resultater som stemmer med min moraanalyse og reglen om forlængelse af sonorkonsonant før konsonant. Hun målte bl.a. længden af *-lam-* i eksempler som *en mat lampe, en natlampe, en mat lampet* og fandt en signifikant længdeforskel netop i de former som ifølge min (væsentlig senere) analyse vil adskille sig ved at have henh. 2 og 1 mora (idet tryksvage stavelser kun kan være lette). Men som sagt, der foreligger kun begrænsede undersøgelser.

Det er nu interessant at min moraanalyse koblet til reglen om lang sonor konsonant før konsonant forudsiger at stavelser med kortvokal plus sonor konsonant plus endnu en konsonant (typen *telt, damp*) altid vil være tunge (have 2 morae), medmindre de er tryksvage; og det er jo en stavelsestype der i den her beskrevne norm generelt har stød når den står sidst i ordet (altså bl.a. som enstavelsesord), jf. stødreglen for leksemet som formuleres nedenfor.

Men herudover findes der lange konsonanter i massevis, nemlig som resultat af den såkaldte schwa-assimilation, en af de mest gennemgribende lydlige processer i moderne dansk. Det svage *e* kaldet schwa, som vi har i bl.a. mange bøjningsendelser, er det ultimative udtryk for den danske dovenskab, og det bringer udlændinge der skal lære vort sprog til fortvivlelse: schwa bliver nemlig opslugt i nabolydene på en indviklet måde som er blevet beskrevet især af Lars Brink og Jørn Lund i *Dansk Rigsmål* (1975:191-220), men som der endnu ikke er givet nogen samlet teoretisk analyse af. Ifølge Brink & Lund resulterer schwa-assimilationen i at den mest sonore nabolyd bliver syllabisk.

Schwa-assimilation er en variabel regel med variation i mange dimensioner, men jeg vil arbejde med en relativt enkel version der forekommer mig at ramme det væsentlige, nemlig hovedprincippet at schwa-assimilation i den her valgte norm, dvs. moderne københavnsk rigsmål, er
(1) obligatorisk før sonor lyd (som i fx *nælden* hvor man normalt ikke hører nogen selvstændig "e-lyd" mellem lydene [l] og [n])
(2) obligatorisk efter fonetisk vokal ("vokoid") (fx ender ordet *pige* normalt på en forlænget [i]-lyd)

Efter fonetisk vokal (vokoid) er reglen ganske vist ikke fuldt gennemført i alle former for rigsmål, men jeg mener den er (i hvert fald praktisk taget) obligatorisk i den her beskrevne sprogform.

(3) fakultativ i øvrigt (jf. (1), (2)) efter sonor lyd (fx kan *nælde* udtales med enten "den svage e-lyd" (schwa) til sidst, eller blot med et forlænget [l]).

Det skal dog tilføjes at ordfinalt schwa ikke assimileres i eksempler som *faldne, faldende* eller (med stød) *overfaldne, (over)faldene* . Det hænger efter min analyse sammen med at schwa i sådanne eksempler står efter hvad jeg kalder en *kun-initial konsonant*, dvs. en konsonant der ikke kan undergå "Consonant gradation" (med Rischels (1970b) term). Det er ikke tilstrækkeligt at sige "initial konsonant" da schwa fx godt kan assimileres i *kone*, og den fonologisk afgørende forskel i danske konsonantpositioner går netop imellem kun-initiale og ikke-kun-initiale (hyppigt kaldet "finale").

Jeg mener at man ud fra den her foreslåede moraanalyse kan give en forholdsvis enkel og stort set dækkende strukturel beskrivelse af schwa-assimilationen; ja, faktisk stemmer min moraanalyse i alt væsentligt med de generelle regler som Brink & Lund (1975:202-203), bl.a. ud fra aflytning af et stort båndmateriale, nævner i deres sammenfatning af længdeforholdene for schwa-assimilationsproduktet (dvs. de konsonanter der er blevet forlænget som følge af at de så at sige har opslugt et schwa, for at tale i meget løst billedsprog).

Jeg kan ikke her gennemgå moraanalysen i detaljer, men henviser til diskussionen i Basbøll 1998a. Jeg skal her blot give et forslag til analysens formalia, der efter min opfattelse stemmer godt med almene prosodiske principper (jf. forskellige former for såkaldt metrisk og autosegmental fonologi). Jeg understreger dog at min opfattelse er væsentlig mere "minimalistisk" ("Ockham´s razor") end den fremherskende inden for formelle fonologiske skoler: de enkelte aspekter af strukturen skal kunne forbindes til sprogbrugernes adfærd (lydstrukturen med iagttagelige fonetiske konsekvenser) og ikke forudsættes som "medfødte" strukturer specifikke for sprogkompetencen ("innateness"). Det "minimalistiske" viser sig også ved at jeg kun angiver de dele af strukturen der er nødvendige for manifestationen, in casu linjer fra de enkelte segmenter til morae, dvs. til stavelseskernen. *Kun to strukturer for hver af de følgende former kan tilskrives nogen som helst form for realitet: en form med schwa, og en form uden* (i det følgende gengives alle andre strukturforslag med "petit"). Alt det mellemliggende, samt opbygningen af udgangsstrukturen, er blot at forstå som mellemregninger der er medtaget for at vise at modellen er konsistent, eksplicit og simpel. Lad mig endelig understrege at formalismen ikke på alle punkter er afklaret (men det er som sagt heller ikke det afgørende her). Det er fx oplagt at en mora ikke repræsenterer en *fast* længde- eller vægtenhed (ligesom heller ikke segmenter eller stavelser repræsenterer faste længde- eller vægtenheder), og der må forudsættes en algoritme til fortolkning af stavelses- og morastrukturen før den kan testes i egentlig forstand (det må således fastsættes hvor meget stavelsesknuden skal tælle i forhold til morae (jf. overlette stavelser), hvordan tryk skal indregnes, og hvad ikke-moriske segmenter skal tælle, for at nævne tre relevante spørgsmål). Jeg baserer mig i det følgende på relevante *forskelle* mellem typer, ikke på kvantiteter i mere absolut forstand.

Selve stavelsesstrukturen med morae kan konstrueres ud fra følgende tre enkle principper Pi-iii:

(Pi) en vokal danner en stavelse (dvs. får en σ-knude);
(Pii) en stavelse danner en mora (dvs. får en μ-knude);
(Piii) længde danner en mora (dvs. får en μ-knude)
Herefter vil formerne / p ɛ : n , p ɛ n : / (stødordene *pæn, pen*) have følgende (ufærdige) prosodiske struktur, se fig. 9:

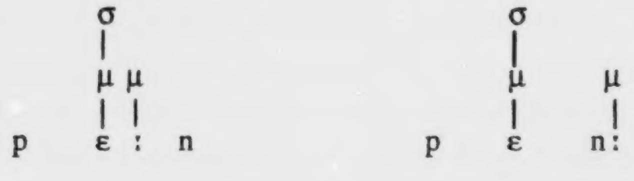


fig. 9

Der gælder den generelle betingelse B:
(B) en mora skal være forbundet til én stavelse og ét segment

B er ikke opfyldt i figurerne ovenfor (da anden mora ikke er forbundet til en stavelse).

Hvis betingelsen B krænkes (ikke er opfyldt), sker der en strukturreparation R:
(R) en mora forbindes til den stavelse der dominerer dens venstre nabo-mora hvis det er muligt

Formuleringen "hvis det er muligt" i R dækker at betingelserne Di-iv for en velformet prosodisk struktur i dansk skal være opfyldt (bemærk at trykforhold ikke indgår i betingelserne, hvad der er en styrke ved modellen, alt andet lige):

(Di) kun sonoranter kan være moriske (modsat fx i norsk, svensk, eller italiensk)
(Dii) vægten af en stavelse med en fuldvokal som top er 1 eller 2 morae (heraf følger bl.a. at der ikke findes overtunge stavelser – altså stavelser med 3 morae – i dansk som fx i klassisk latin, oldnordisk eller finsk)
(Diii) vægten af en stavelse med en neutralvokal (= en ikke-fuld vokal, jf. Basbøll 1996, 1997) som top er 1 mora (heraf følger bl.a. at schwa-stavelser hverken kan have stød eller langvokal)
(Div) vægten af en stavelse uden en vokal som top er 0 morae (dette princip udtrykker at stavelser med en konsonant som top er lettere end selv de letteste stavelser med en vokal som top, der jo har en vægt på én mora, jf. Diii; stavelser uden en mora kan kaldes overlette, eng. superlight, i analogi med at stavelser på tre morae kaldes overtunge, eng. superheavy; som nævnt ligger stavelsestoppen i 1. mora)

I fig. 9 ovenfor (med *pæn, pen*) er der ingen af betingelserne for en velformet prosodisk struktur på dansk (Di-iv) der forhindrer at strukturreparationen R kan finde sted. Resultatet bliver som følger, se fig. 10 (idet længdeprikkerne herefter kan ignoreres: de kan betragtes som en del af det lange segment og indkodet i den prosodiske struktur):

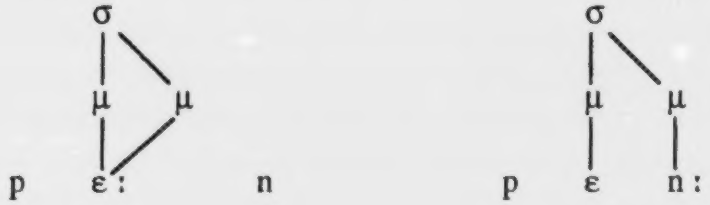


fig. 10

Som sagt er principperne for dannelse og omdannelse af de prosodiske strukturer ikke afgørende for en vurdering af holdbarheden af min analyse empirisk set, det er selve forslaget til lydstruktur (med og uden schwa) der må vurderes.

Særlig interessant i vores sammenhæng er forskellen ved assimilation efter lang og kort vokal, hvad jeg skal belyse ved følgende eksempel: hvorfor er [l] ´et klart længere (Brink & Lund 1975, Thorsen 1982, SDU) i *helle* end i *hæle* når schwa assimileres? Lad os først se på *hæle* (fig. 11):

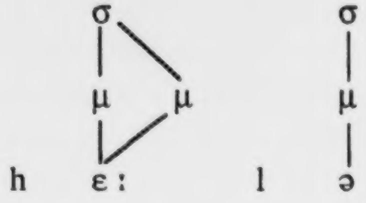


fig. 11

Udgangspunktet er den distinkte form uden schwa-assimilation. Schwa er speciel ved at være uden andet fonologisk indhold end "vokal" (se Basbøll 1997, jf. 1996) og slettes som nævnt ovenfor obligatorisk efter vokoid og før sonorant, fakultativt efter sonorant i øvrigt. Princippet i dansk er, når vi ikke taler om radikale reduktioner hvor stavelser helt forsvinder osv., at bortfald af schwa ("schwa-assimilation") ikke ændrer stavelsesstrukturen (modsat i fx fransk hvor schwa-bortfald normalt medfører reduktion i stavelsestal, jf. eksemplet *petite* 'lille (fem.)' der i sekvensen *la petite amie* 'den lille veninde' ofte udtales med blot én stavelse: [laptitami]).

Når schwa forsvinder ser strukturen af *hæle* altså sådan ud (fig. 12):

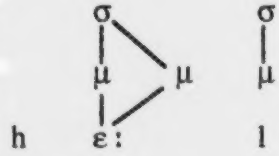


fig. 12

(Man siger i moderne fonologi normalt blot at schwa "delinkes", dvs. at linjen mellem schwa og dens mora slettes; et schwa der ender med at være uden forbindelse til den prosodiske struktur manifesteres ikke). Ordets tredje mora krænker betingelsen B; men den kan ikke blive tilknyttet første stavelse (jf. R) da denne allerede har to morae (jf. Dii). Ordets anden stavelse forbindes ifølge de generelle principper til den sonore konsonant; ifølge Div er sidste stavelse så overlet, dvs. den assimilerede ordform har to stavelser og to morae. Den prosodiske struktur for den assimilerede ordform *hæle* bliver således (fig. 13):

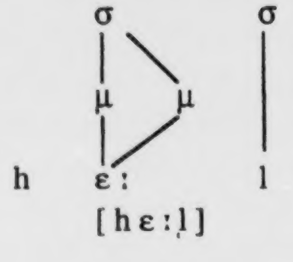


fig. 13

Strukturen udtrykker nu, helt automatisk og altså tvunget af modellen (hvad der metodisk er en klar styrke), at / l / er syllabisk. Jeg vil altså sige at (1) schwa forsvinder, (2) dette medfører en automatisk justering, ikke af stavelsesstrukturen som sådan (der netop ud fra hovedprincippet i dansk er uændret), men af segmentkædens forbindelse til den prosodiske struktur. (Det spiller ingen rolle om linjerne er skrå eller lodrette). Lad os så se på det **kort**vokaliske *helle*. Først udgangsstrukturen med schwa (fig. 14):

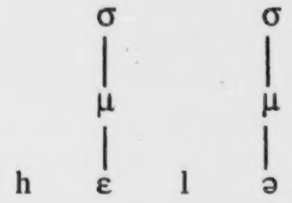


fig. 14

Når schwa forsvinder ser strukturen sådan ud (fig. 15):

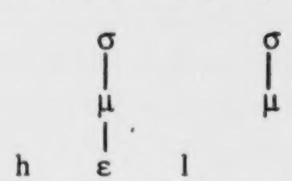


fig. 15

Denne struktur krænker betingelsen B (da anden stavelses mora efter bortfaldet af schwa ikke er forbundet til noget segment). Der er ikke noget der forhindrer strukturreparationen R (1. stavelse har en fuldvokal som top men kun én mora), derfor forbindes anden mora til første stavelse. I og med at dette sker, slettes forbindelsen mellem denne mora og 2. stavelse i overensstemmelse med B (jf. fig. 23-24 nedenfor). Strukturen ser herefter således ud, se fig. 16 (de enkelte symboler kan flyttes til venstre eller til højre uden konsekvenser for figurernes logik, så længe rækkefølgen ikke krænkes):

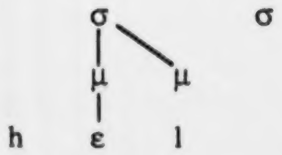


fig. 16

Anden stavelse kan kun tilknyttes den finale sonore konsonant (det følger af de generelle betingelser nævnt ovenfor); da denne stavelses top ikke er en vokal, er der tale om en overlet stavelse.

Nettoresultatet af schwa-assimilationen kan således siges at være at ordets samlede stavelsesvægt er bevaret (to morae), men på den måde at første stavelse er blevet tungere og anden lettere end i den uassimilerede form af *helle*. Denne beskrivelse forekommer mig fonetisk og fonologisk plausibel. Herefter bliver resultatet, se fig. 17, at [l] -fasen i *helle* længdemæssigt består af et mora-bærende *l* plus et stavelsesdannende *l* , hvad der ikke gælder [l] i *hæle* (der kun har et stavelsesdannende [l]).

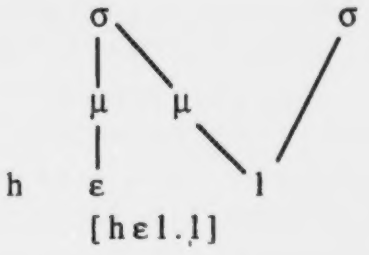


fig. 17

Analysen stemmer med helt generelle prosodiske antagelser, og så vidt jeg kan se også med manifestationen, selv om der stadig savnes viden om konsonantlængde i en række vigtige positioner. Det er naturligvis vigtigt ikke bare at mine strukturforslag principielt kan efterprøves fonetisk (hvad de foreslåede lydstrukturer (men ikke mellemtrinene) kan, modsat mange strukturer i såvel den strukturalistiske som den moderne formelle faglitteratur der anskues som rent abstrakte), men også at de faktisk bliver det. Ud fra mine notationer skulle man forvente at [l] -fasen i *fortælle* og *tælle*, henh. med og uden stød, begge udtalt med assimilation, skulle være af samme størrelsesorden, og det samme skulle være tilfældet i *ellen* (træ, med stød) og *Ellen* (pige, uden stød), begge med assimilation (som de jo normalt har). Jeg kender ingen alternativ (detaljeret men alligevel simpel) fonologisk model for schwa-assimilation i dansk; en sådan model bør være eksplicit, teoretisk funderet og empirisk kontrollerbar, og ikke åbenlyst urimelig fonetisk set.

Jeg vil gerne illustrere den fonetiske realitet i mine stavelses- og morastrukturer med endnu et par eksempler, nemlig *bare, barre* der begge i den her valgte norm udtales [' b ɑ : ɑ]. Forudsætningerne for de følgende figurer er som i *hæle, helle* ovenfor. Udgangspunkt er formerne med schwa; strukturerne er også et resultat af sammensmeltningen af *a* med det såkaldte "vokaliske r", i figurerne gengivet [ɐ̆] (jeg diskuterer ikke r-colouring og r-vokalisering her, jf. Basbøll 1996). Lad os først se på udgangsstrukturen for *bare* (med vokalisk r og bevaret schwa; det ville ikke gøre nogen forskel hvis vi i udgangsformen regnede med at sammensmeltningen af *a* og *r* allerede var sket). Se fig. 18.

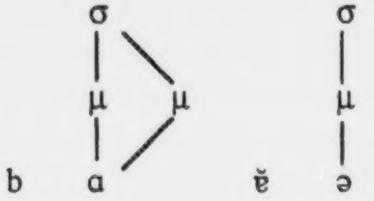


fig. 18

Schwa droppes obligatorisk her (fordi schwa følger en fonetisk vokal, en vokoid). Også finalt (vokalisk) r droppes i denne stilling (obligatorisk); det følger af det her anlagte "dobbelte" syn på segmentkæde plus prosodisk struktur at segmentet bare kan droppes uden at skulle siges at smelte sammen med noget fordi prosodien stadig holder styr på helheden (jf. Rischel 1970a). Der er ingen "extrinsic order", altså på forhånd fastlagt rækkefølge, i disse drop. Nu har vi følgende struktur (fig. 19):

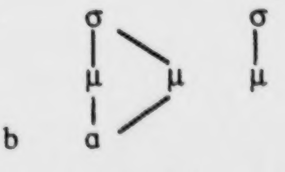


fig. 19

Den "frie" mora (der krænker betingelsen B) kan ikke forbinde sig til (opsluges af, indgå i) den foregående stavelse da denne allerede er tung (jf. Dii). Men moraen skal helt efter de almene principper forbinde sig til det eneste relevante segment (den sonore lyd), nemlig [ɑ], og det gør den så. Der er ingen restriktioner der forhindrer at [ɑ]-segmentet er tilknyttet en serie stavelser (i *hårdere* er vokalsegmentet tilknyttet hele tre stavelser, i den første med to morae, dvs. i alt fire morae). Modellen forudsiger således manifestationen, og slutstrukturen er derfor (fig. 20):

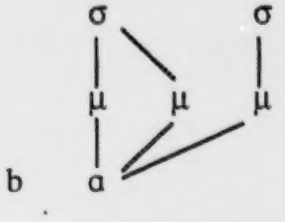


fig. 20

Morastrukturen udtrykker at der i den assimilerede form *bare* er to segmenter, et [b] og et dybt [ɑ], og at denne sekvens prosodisk tæller som to stavelser hvoraf den første har lang vokal. Modellens konsekvens, at der vil ske moraforøgelse ved schwa-assimilation efter let stavelse (som vi så i *helle* ovenfor), forudsiger at det oprindeligt kortvokaliske ord *barre* (skrevet med dobbelt *r*) vil have nøjagtig samme struktur hvis ordet undergår schwa-assimilation. Denne forudsigelse er rigtig: ord af typerne *bare, barre* er obligatorisk faldet sammen i moderne københavnsk rigsmål. Lad os kort illustrere derivationen af *barre*. Udgangsstrukturen er (fig. 21):

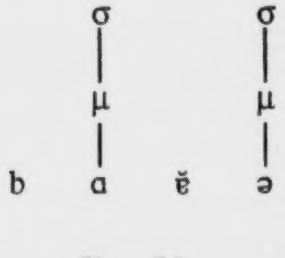


fig. 21

Ganske som i *bare* forsvinder schwa og "vokalisk r" ud fra almene principper. Strukturen er herefter (fig. 22):

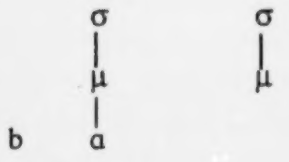


fig. 22

Her har vi igen en "fri" mora (der krænker betingelsen B). Intet forhindrer en strukturreparation (R), så den frie mora forbindes til første stavelse der derved bliver tung (fig. 23):

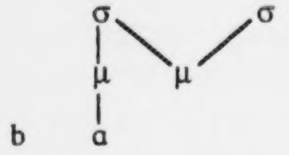


fig. 23

Strukturen ovenfor krænker princippet om at én mora ikke kan være forbundet til flere stavelser, og den gamle linje mellem mora og stavelse må derfor droppes (ifølge et helt generelt princip). Strukturen bliver da således (fig. 24):

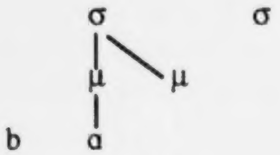


fig. 24

Den frie mora (der altså nu hører til første stavelse) skal forbindes til et segment (skal forankres i segmentkæden, jf. B), og kun ét segment kan komme på tale (der er kun stammens ɑ). Anden stavelse skal ligeledes forbindes med et segment, og kun vokalen ɑ kan komme på tale. Da en stavelse med en vokal som top må have mindst én mora (Dii og Diii, jf. Div), ser slutstrukturen således ud (fig. 25):

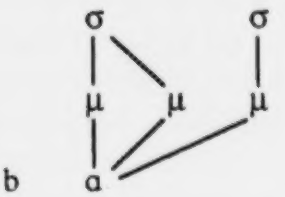


fig. 25

Slutstrukturen udtrykker at der er ét vokalsegment som repræsenterer to stavelser hvoraf den første er tung, svarende til en "segmentaltransskription" [' b ɑ : ɑ]. Med andre ord forudsiger modellen at når der er vokalisering af finalt r og schwa-assimilation, så vil ord af typerne *bare/* og *barre/parre* obligatorisk falde sammen, og desuden falde sammen med ord af typen */para* (jf. hyppige fejlstavninger som **parantes*). Strukturerne udtrykker hovedprincippet i dansk, at ved schwa-assimilation forsvinder schwa som selvstændigt vokalsegment, hvorimod stavelsesstrukturen bevares (i hvert fald hvis der ikke sker en langt radikalere reduktion). Dette forhold adskiller sig som sagt fra fx fransk hvor princippet er at når schwa-vokalen forsvinder, så reduceres hermed også stavelsestallet, jf. [laptitami] nævnt ovenfor).

I den her foreslåede analyse (der i hovedtrækkene stemmer med mange former for prosodisk fonologi) er total assimilation at forstå som bortfald af et segment men bevarelse af stavelsesstruktur. Det forekommer mig både klart og simpelt, hvorimod den traditionelle opfattelse efter min mening er en mindre indsigtsfuld måde at sige det samme på (fremtvunget af at der tænkes "segmentalt"). Om fx *barre* ville man i en traditionel "segmental" analyse skulle sige omtrent som følger: (1) schwa assimileres til det vokaliske r (eller: schwa svinder og det vokaliske r bliver syllabisk); (2) dette assimilationsprodukt assimileres (totalt) til foregående vokal; (3) den foregående vokal forlænges. I modellen her siges: schwa og r slettes (begge disse bortfald kan uafhængigt dokumenteres); resten følger blot af det generelle princip at segmenterne tilordnes stavelsesstrukturen. (Jeg har her bibeholdt den traditionelle term assimilation (af schwa) af pædagogiske grunde).

Man kunne nu spørge om schwa-assimilation ikke er et rent fonetisk fænomen, på linje med fx emfatiske forlængelser, som ikke er relevant for selve den fonologiske struktur. Efter min opfattelse ville det ikke være noget væsentligt argument for min analyse at vi har lange konsonanter p.g.a. schwa-assimilation, hvis det ikke var fordi de særlige længdeforhold stemmer med den uafhængigt motiverede moraanalyse. Som eksempler på de relevante typer (jf. også Basbøll 1997) kan nævnes at *hæle* har kortere *l* end *helle* med assimilation, men også at n-fasen for *måne* er den samme som for *månen* med assimilation, at *roen* (af *roe*) har kortere *n* end *kone* med assimilation, osv., i alt væsentligt som hos Brink & Lund 1975, og med støtte i Nina Grønnums målinger (Thorsen 1982) der dog langt fra dækker alle relevante positioner.

At *cykel* har kortere *l* end *cykle* med assimilation (ifølge Brink & Lund) fremgår ikke af mine figurer, men forskellen kan udtrykkes i strukturerne forudsat at initiale konsonanter er tilknyttet selve stavelsesknuden, jf. Basbøll 1998a. Længdeforskellen forekommer imidlertid mindre veldokumenteret end flertallet af de øvrige nævnt ovenfor, og jeg foretrækker i denne omgang at se bort fra forskellen i stavelses- og mora-struktur mellem assimileret *cykle* og *cykel* for ikke at bygge strukturen på tvivlsom evidens (jf. "Ockham's razor"). Det betyder at det kun er forbindelseslinjerne fra morae til segmenter der er nødvendige her, ikke forbindelseslinjerne fra stavelsesknuder til segmenter; dette forhold kan interpreteres således at segmenter uden for stavelseskernen er "løsere" forbundet til stavelserne end de moriske segmenter (jf. de mange problemer med at blive enige om stavelsesgrænser ved konsonanter og konsonant-grupper når de står ordinternt mellem vokaler). At der (ifølge Brink & Lund 1975) vil være langt g i assimileret *cykle* kan ikke skyldes schwa-assimilationen da en sådan længde også findes i den uassimilerede form (det fremgår af Thorsens målinger (1982), jf. Basbøll 1998a).

Min analyse forudsiger at nasal-fasen er af samme størrelsesorden i de assimilerede ordformer *vennen, forvænne* (begge med stød) som i henh. *venden, vænne* (begge assimilerede, uden stød), men at nasalen i *forvænne* (med stød) vil være klart længere end i *vænne* (uden stød) når de begge udtales uden schwa-assimilation; denne forudsigelse er lige til at teste. Analysen stemmer videre med det produktive stød i *hyppige* osv., se nedenfor. Det forekommer mig at alt dette taler for at der er en tættere sammenhæng mellem lydstrukturen (med stavelser og morae) og de observerbare fonetiske forhold, end man ud fra et strengt strukturalistisk synspunkt skulle forvente.

Schwa-assimilationen på dansk (tab af svagt *e*) leverer altså efter min opfattelse en væsentlig uafhængig støtte for den moraanalyse jeg har foreslået for at gøre rede for stødet. Men mere end det: vi har nu også klaret det ene af de to hovedspørgsmål som moraanalysen rejser, nemlig: hvad er forklaringen på alternationen i fx *sofaen, Zola'er, Juppé'er* hvor den bøjede form får både forlængelse (med evt. tilhørende ændring af vokalkvaliteten) og stødtilkomst? Alle de endelser der medfører stødtilkomst består nemlig af et svagt *e* (schwa) fulgt af en sonor konsonant (foruden den produktive pluralis-endelse *-er* drejer det sig om def. sg. *-en, -et* (sidstnævnte udtalt med halvvokalen [ð̞]), def. pl. endelsen hvor pl. er nul: *ene* , og det enklitiske pronomen *-et* der i min analyse ikke kræver nogen særregel). I denne position gælder det at endelsens schwa skal assimileres (da schwa-assimilation er obligatorisk foran en sonor lyd), og det medfører jo – sådan som vi lige har set – at den foregående stavelse får en ekstra mora hvis den kan have det. Herved har vi opløst det tilsyneladende paradoks at en *let* stavelse kan få stød når den forsynes med en bestemt endelse, selvom enhver stødstavelse skal være *tung* . Vor analyse stemmer helt med at stødtilføjelsen og ændringen i vokalens kvalitet og kvantitet i *Zola'er* osv. er produktiv og betinget i lydstrukturen, og altså ikke fx en grammatisk eller leksikalsk betinget vekselform, således som man på forhånd kunne have troet. Schwa-assimilationen medfører ikke i sig selv stødtilkomst, men derimod at stavelsen får den fornødne sonoritetslængde til at kunne have stød ("stød-basis" i den klassiske terminologi). Selve stødet i disse former falder nu ind under de generelle stødregler (se nedenfor).

Den tætte sammenhæng mellem schwa-assimilation og produktiv tilføjelse af stød (ved en række bestemte bøjningsendelser og det enklitiske pronomen i fx *"gør'et"* (for *gør det*) [ˈɡ œ ɐ̆ ' ð̞]) er uventet, og jeg blev da også selv overrasket da jeg opdagede den. Men den støttes af nogle helt andre produktive former i (bl.a.) nyere københavnsk rigsmål:

hyppige, dejlige, hyppigere, dejligere

har stød på [i] hos moderne sprogbrugere, modsat i *hyppig, dejlig.*

Det svage *e* (schwa) i *hyppige* osv. står i en stilling hvor der i den her brugte moderne københavnske norm er obligatorisk assimilation, nemlig efter en fonetisk vokal; og når schwa falder væk, får vi mora-tilføjelse på [i]-stavelsen ganske som i eksemplet *barre* ovenfor. Det skal understreges at stød i de herhen hørende former så langt fra er gennemført i dagens rigsmål, det gælder specielt for ældre og ikke-københavnske sprogformer. Udgangsstrukturen er (fig. 26):

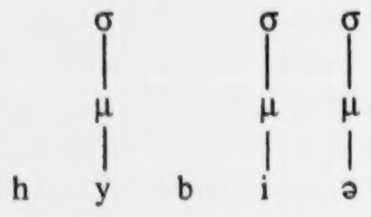


fig. 26

Da den foregående stavelse er let men har en (final) fuldvokal som top, forbindes moraen til næstsidste stavelse. Sidste stavelse forbindes også til den stammefinale vokal (det er den eneste mulighed ifølge principperne), dvs. at slutstrukturen bliver (fig. 27):

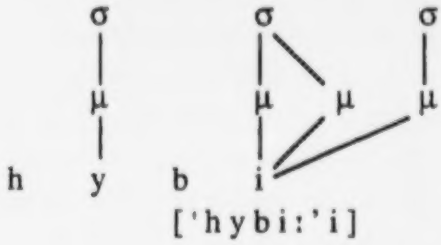


fig. 27

Dvs. at [i]-stavelsen bliver tung (med lang vokal), og derfor har stød (da den ikke falder ind under nogen ikke-stød-regel). Schwa-assimilationen bevirker altså at de segmentale forudsætninger for stød bliver opfyldt, men er på ingen måde årsag til stødet selv. Ud fra denne analyse forventer vi at hvis sprogbrugere ikke har mulighed for schwa-assimilation i *hyppige* osv., så har de heller ikke stød. Derimod er der ikke noget principielt i vejen for at nogle sprogbrugere (fx lidt ældre, eller provinsielle) kan have assimilation men alligevel ikke stød (altså udtalen [' h y b i i] uden stød). Det skyldes *ikke* at de her foreslåede principper for for stød og stavelsesstruktur ikke gælder for dem, men at [i] i den svage afledningsendelse *-ig* kan tælle som en ikke-fuldvokal; en sådan kan ifølge analysens generelle principper ikke være tung (jf. Diii), og *ig* i *hyppig* vil derfor ikke hos de nævnte ældre/provinsielle sprogbrugere blive en langvokal og derved være modtagelig for stød ("få stød-basis"). Som et muligt paralleltilfælde kan nævnes at endelsen *-ing* hos nogle (jyske) sprogbrugere kan udtales med en slags schwa-vokal og i så fald ikke kan få stød foran bøjningsendelser som *-en* , *-er* (fx i *kyllinger*). Men det gælder altså ikke den sprognorm der er genstand for denne undersøgelse.

5. *Fuldt produktive endelser*

Hermed har vi afsluttet fremstillingen af lydstrukturen (med stavelser og morae) i forbindelse med det danske stød, og går nu over til ordet og ordstrukturen (med bøjningsendelser osv.). Det hovedproblem der står tilbage, kan udtrykkes i følgende spørgsmål: **hvilke tunge stavelser har ikke stød?** En besvarelse af dette spørgsmål forudsætter en indgående analyse af ordets grammatik, og jeg kan her kun give nogle hovedtræk af besvarelsen.

I den form for strukturalisme der har været dominerende i en stor del af dette århundredes lingvistik, har man krævet at videnskaben om sproget skulle være autonom og ikke inddrage andre vidensområder eller videnskaber; ikke mindst har Louis Hjelmslev advaret mod at bygge på psykologien. Senere er det blevet bedre tone at se psykologisk realitet i én eller anden forstand som et mål, men det er stadig almindeligt at lingvistiske analyser praktiseres som et puslespil hvor det gælder om at få brikkerne til at gå op, uden tanke på forholdet mellem puslespillet og den omgivende "virkelighed". Og en del formelle lingvister (fra Chomsky-skolen i vid forstand) der erklæret studerer sprog som kognition, anvender en metodologi hvormed man efter min opfattelse afskærer sig selv fra at udforske nogen form for psykologisk realitet.

Hvis man er interesseret i at den lingvistiske analyse skal afspejle en adfærd, en form for psykologisk realitet, forudsætter det at (de relevante dele af) beskrivelsen er **psykologisk interpretérbar(e)**, og kun hvis dét er tilfældet, bliver det muligt at spørge videre til den psykologiske sandsynlighed, grad af sandhed, osv. Hvis vi tager et bøjet ord som *syr* kan vi lingvistisk analysere ordformen i en stamme *sy* plus en nutidsendelse *r* ; fra et sprogpsykologisk synspunkt kan vi spørge: dannes *syr* **produktivt** ved at kombinere stamme og endelse, eller hentes formen frem fra sprogbrugerens mentale ordbog som en helhed? Dette spørgsmål kan undersøges på flere forskellige måder, men jeg vil – med min baggrund som sprogforsker og ikke psykolog – koncentrere mig om at give en lingvistisk beskrivelse baseret på **produktivitet** således som denne fremgår af sprogbrugerens normale adfærd (altså ikke gennem fx psykologiske tests, jf. dog afsnit 8 og 9 nedenfor).

Produktivitet operationaliseres her som noget der gælder **endelser** (uanset om de er fleksiver eller derivativer hvad der er en vigtig pointe, se nedenfor). Endelserne kan opfattes som dækkende en skala gående fra fuldt produktive til helt uproduktive med forskellige mellemtrin. Jeg starter med at definere yderpunkterne på en sådan produktivitetsskala.

For at en endelse skal være **fuldproduktiv** (=FPE, eng. fully productive ending), vil jeg kræve begge de følgende betingelser opfyldt: **(1) at endelsen føjes til nye ord** (som dét der i den internationale faglitteratur kaldes **"default"**, dvs. at endelsen føjes til hvis der ikke er særlige grunde til det modsatte, altså som "normaltilfælde"); dette er så at sige sprogbrugens eller den igangværende sproghistories eget vidnesbyrd (jf. datidsformer med *-ede* for nye udsagnsord); **og (2) at den form som endelsen føjes til ("basisformen"), altid er en *normal ordform*** (ellers kan vi nemlig ikke gå ud fra at denne basisform har en selvstændig eksistens i psykologisk forstand, og dermed heller ikke at selve processen er produktiv; i et tilfælde som *fæstne* kan vi ikke sige at infinitivsendelsen *e* er blevet føjet til en normal ordform, idet *fæstn* ikke er en normal ordform: den strider mod basale lyd- og ordstrukturprincipper, og en sådan imperativform undgås af mange). Betingelse (1) er den der normalt stilles i faglitteraturen, hvorimod (2) er noget centralt for netop min tilgang der opererer med en *tværsproglig skala for systematisk gradueret produktivitet* (se afsnit 8). De to krav kombineret sikrer at en fuldproduktiv endelse altid vil være *transparent* for sprogbrugerne, hvilket bl.a. er vigtigt for en forståelse af sprogtilegnelsesprocessen, se nedenfor.

Det stik modsatte af fuldproduktive endelser er **uproduktive** endelser (=UPE, eng. unproductive endings), der kan defineres som nogle der **(1) ikke føjes til nye ord**, og **(2) som i fonologisk forstand opfører sig som del af deres leksem** (leksem er termen for en leksikalsk enhed). Også i dette tilfælde er betingelse (1) velkendt fra faglitteraturen, hvorimod (2) er noget centralt og specielt for den her opstillede model (ligesom hele begrebet om en tværsproglig veldefineret produktivitetsskala). Som illustration af betingelse (2) kan nævnes en præteritumsform som *mente* hvis langvokal signalerer at ordet består af flere morfemer, dvs. at der må være en endelse. Se videre afsnit 6 nedenfor. Betingelserne (1) og (2) kombineret vil medføre at uproduktive endelser ligger meget lavt på en transparens-skala, hvad der naturligvis har sprogpsykologisk betydning.

Det følger af definitionerne at der er mulighed for en mellemkategori mellem fuldproduktive og uproduktive endelser, en mellemkategori som jeg vil kalde semiproduktive endelser (=SPE, eng. semiproductive endings); det er en konsekvens af at jeg har defineret yderpunkterne på en produktivitetsskala klart. Vi kan på grundlag af definitionerne forudse forskellige typer af semiproduktive endelser, se afsnit 7 og 8 nedenfor.

Den her forfægtede opfattelse af produktivitet har nogle efterprøvelige konsekvenser. For det første at fuldproduktive endelser fungerer "additivt" i lydlig og betydningsmæssig henseende, dvs. at både lyd- og betydningssiden af ordet kan sluttes af dets dele ud fra generelle principper. Dette forhold gør den morfologiske proces med en fuldproduktiv endelse *transparent i såvel fonologisk og morfologisk som semantisk henseende* (og hjælper derfor sprogbrugeren, og specielt da barnet der skal tilegne sig systemet, til at kunne segmentere input-formen, jf. afsnit 8 og 9 nedenfor). Og for det andet at betydningen af ord dannet ved uproduktive endelser ikke nødvendigvis kan forudsiges ud fra delene: der kan være betydningsspecialisering, særbetydninger osv., ofte omtalt som "leksikalisering". Men dette forslag udelukker ikke at sprogbrugeren kan – eller kan bringes til at – identificere en uproduktiv endelse: i et tilfælde som *huse* er det for de fleste sprogbrugere næppe noget problem at erkende at *e* er en flertalsendelse, selv om den er uproduktiv (og den kaldes med rette regelmæssig). Jeg mener dette forslag er et væsentligt fremskridt i forhold til dén udbredte opfattelse at regelmæssige endelser altid behandles som noget der er adskilt fra roden: det er et stort problem i fx generativ grammatik at man skulle forvente ustandselige totale omstruktureringer af sprogbrugernes leksikon efterhånden som de bliver mere sprogbevidste og derfor mere sproganalyserende (fx gennem uddannelse). Hertil kommer at der kan være store forskelle i evnen til bevidst sproganalyse hos sprogbrugere hvis sproglige output (i h.t. udtale, bøjningsformer osv.) ikke er til at skelne. Jeg mener også at forslaget er attraktivt som korrektiv eller supplement til forskellige kognitive modeller der ikke grundlæggende skelner mellem produktive og ikke-produktive mekanismer.

På fig. 28 er der en liste over ***fuldt produktive bøjningsendelser på moderne dansk***. På enkelte punkter er der analysemæssige tvetydigheder (fx kunne den produktive endelse *-en* i *syen* osv. også medtages). Disse morfologiske kategorier vil blive diskuteret nærmere i anden sammenhæng. De umarkerede medlemmer af de enkelte morfologiske kategorier (med manifestationen nul) angives i runde parenteser på fig. 28 (konsonanter undergår "Consonant Gradation" – med Rischels (1970b) term – dvs. **d** og **r** manifesteres som sonoranter).

Genitiv:		s
Substantiver:	*pluralis (indefinit)*	ə r
	definit (singularis)	ə n (commune)
		ə d (neutrum)
	definit pluralis	n ə
Adjektiver:	*neutrum (indef.)(sing.)(pos.)*	t
	def./plur./non-pos.	ə
	komparativ	r ə
	superlativ	s t
Verber:	*præsens*	r
	præteritum	ə d ə
	præs. ptc.	ə n ə
	præt. ptc.	ə d

fig. 28

Ud fra den her forfægtede opfattelse af produktivitet følger en vigtig forudsigelse hvad angår stødet: **fuldproduktive endelser er irrelevante for stød** (der er nemlig ingen *generelle* regler der fjerner eller indfører stød, og de eneste stødændringer der kan observeres i forbindelse med produktive endelser er dem vi har set tidligere i denne artikel, i fx *Zola´er* , og det var jo blot en automatisk og helt generel forlængelse – nemlig den vi også ser i schwa-assimilation – der gjorde at stavelsen blev tung og dermed – automatisk – fik stød). Denne forudsigelse er korrekt. Ordstrukturen kan symboliseres som følger idet jeg med **grundord** mener **den del af ordet der er tilbage når de fuldproduktive endelser (FPE) er fjernet** (en fuldproduktiv endelses basisform er grundordet):

[grundord] FPE

Stødreglerne udspiller sig således inden for grundordet.

Uanset om endelserne er (fuldt) produktive eller ej, er der faste rækkefølgerelationer i ordet. For eksempel er substantivets kanoniske orden:

STAMME + TAL + BESTEMTHED + FALD

Men grænsen mellem fuldt produktive og ikke fuldt produktive endelser kan falde på forskellige steder, fx:

han, hanner, hannerne [han, 'han'ɐ, 'han'ɐnə]
[han], [han]ər, [han]ər nə

ven, venner, vennerne [vɛn, 'vɛnɐ, vɛnɐnə]
[vɛn], [vɛn ər], [vɛn ər]nə
hus, huse, husene [huː's, 'huːsə, 'huːs(n)ṇə]
[huːs], [huːs ə] , [huːs ə]nə

føl, føl, føllene [føl, føl , føl'lnə]
[føl] , [føl], [føl ənə]

I alle tilfældene kan der yderligere tilføjes den fuldproduktive genitivsendelse *s*. I de sidste to eksempler (flertal af *føl*) er flertalsendelsen nul, men den er ikke angivet. Endelserne i plur. og i plur. def. af *føl* er semiproduktive, se afsnit 7. Det følger af modellen at *endelsernes produktivitet kan stige, men ikke falde, henimod ordets slutning*, dvs. at en semiproduktiv endelse ikke kan følge en fuldproduktiv, og en uproduktiv endelse ikke kan følge en semiproduktiv eller fuldproduktiv (i forhold til samme leksem), jf. afsnit 7.

Forskellen på formerne *han - hanner* (med stødtilkomst i pluralis) og *ven - venner* (hvor også pluralis er stødløs) fortjener en kommentar. I *hanner, hannen* osv. bliver nasalen i den bøjede form forlænget som konsekvens af det obligatoriske tab af schwa (schwa-assimilationen, se afsnit 4 ovenfor) og derved bliver første stavelse tung; at der er stød skyldes at formen ikke rammes af nogen ikke-stød-regel (endelsen er fuldt produktiv, og sidste stavelse i grundordet får ikke stødtab, jf. nedenfor). En sådan forlængelse kan tydeligt ses og høres i *sofaen* osv., og det er altså noget lignende, omend mindre tydeligt, der sker i *hannen* og *hanner* efter min opfattelse. I *venner* derimod er flertalsendelsen uproduktiv, hvad der fremgår af at stødtab er uproduktivt (nye ord af denne fonologiske struktur får ikke stødtab), dvs. at endelsen hører med til grundordet (der jo var defineret som hele ordet minus de fuldproduktive endelser); første stavelse af *venner* er således næstsidst i grundordet, derfor kommer der ikke stød (se næste afsnit). Sidst i artiklen (afsnit 9) nævner jeg at samme endelse kan findes både produktivt og uproduktivt, med sproghistoriske implikationer; derimod tillader jeg som allerede nævnt (afsnit 1) ikke mig selv at operere med forskelle som at flertalsendelsen snart er *-er*, snart *-r*, når de er segmentalt identiske.

I *hal - haller* (hvor stammens stød bevares ved flertalsendelsen *-er*) og *sum - summer* (hvor stammens stød tabes ved flertalsendelsen *-er*) – ganske som i *han, hanner* vs. *ven, venner* nævnt ovenfor – afgøres endelsernes produktivitetsgrad tilsyneladende ud fra stødforekomst; det kunne godt ligne en ringslutning. Men jeg vil snarere kalde det en generalisering i den (i videnskaben normalt brugte) forstand at en analyse der er empirisk understøttet i mange tilfælde, kan generaliseres når ikke noget i øvrigt taler derimod. I *hal - haller* som i *han, hanner* er der ikke noget cirkulært ved analysen, her er produktivitet et ægte uafhængigt kriterium (nye ord af denne struktur får stødtilkomst); i *sum - summer* som i *ven, venner* kan man sige at stødtabet, resp. den manglende stødtilføjelse, når endelsen tilføjes er uproduktivt (det er empirisk kontrollerbart og korrekt (nye ord får ikke stødtab), ikke cirkulært); hertil kommer at der ikke er fonologiske generaliseringer der viser at der ikke er tale om enkeltleksemer (i denne sammenhæng ser vi af metodiske grunde bort fra stødet). Ud fra min analyse må endelsen derfor være uproduktiv også i teknisk forstand, dvs. høre med til leksemet i fonologisk forstand, dvs. at *venner, summer* - forudsigeligt ud fra min analyse - også i henseende til stød behandles som enkeltleksemer (med to stavelser), ligesom *huse* (se næste afsnit). Jeg synes ikke man med rette kan kalde denne analyse cirkulær, men det må erkendes at i andre tilfælde kan der være flere uafhængige argumenter der peger i samme retning, og det er ikke tilfældet her.

Lad os overveje cirkularitetsproblemet lidt nøjere. At samme endelse (fra fonologisk og grammatisk synspunkt) kan forekomme både produktivt og uproduktivt, kendes også fra andre former, jf. *fadt, fladt* i adj. neutr. Og der er andre forskelle der følger af min analyse (så den er altså ikke tom men har empiriske konsekvenser), som at der kan være (mor)fonologiske alternationer i stammen (fx alternation i vokallængde: *gud - guder*), det kan der ikke før fuldproduktive endelser. Hvis det var sådan at alle endelser kunne have alle mulige forskellige grader af produktivitet, så ville det klart svække min argumentation (dog ville det at forskellige processer forekommer sammen, jf. stød og de segmentalfonologiske forhold der nævnes i afsnit 7, stadig være et argument). Men det er heller ikke tilfældet. Tendensen forekommer mig at være, at når endelser er fuldproduktive, så vil der også ofte være fonologisk og grammatisk identiske endelser af lavere produktivitet (især i "frosne" former af forskellig art), hvorimod uproduktive endelser normalt ikke forøger deres produktivitet historisk, jf. afsnit 9.

Jeg bruger her den strategi at hvis der er mulighed for at ansætte såvel en fuldproduktiv som en ikke fuldt produktiv endelse, og hvis der ikke er observerbare konsekvenser af valget i andre dele af sprogbeskrivelsen, så vælger jeg den fuldproduktive. Som eksempel kan nævnes flertalsendelsen *-er* ved enstavelsesord med kortvokal og ustemt konsonant (fx *tak, takker*), dvs. ord med en stavelsesstruktur der udelukker stød: i sådanne ord kan vi ikke afgøre valget mellem fuldt produktiv og ikke fuldt produktiv endelse (hvad vi kunne i *hal, haller* vs. *sum, summer* [hal', hal'ɐ; sɔm', sɔmɐ]). Min analyse vil derfor være at *tak* har den produktive flertalsendelse, et valg jeg altså betragter som umarkeret. Man kan sige at jeg giver et lingvistisk bud på ordstrukturen ud fra *den hypotese at sprogbrugerne benytter deres viden om produktive endelser til at analyse input.* Denne hypotese skal selvfølgelig undersøges empirisk i detaljer, på forskellige måder; og det er givet at sprogbrugerne under visse omstændigheder kan lagre større helheder end hypotesen tilsiger. Der er altså tale om en slags lingvistisk maksimalhypotese.

6. *Uproduktive endelser og stød i leksemet*

Grundordet indeholder ét eller flere leksemer. Hvis vi ser på det enkelte leksem og spørger til dets stødforhold, er det interessant at begynde med en klart produktiv del, nemlig den traditionelle udtale af de klassiske sprog, her latin. Det lyder paradoksalt at den traditionelle latinudtale skulle afspejle et produktivt dansk system, men det er ved nærmere eftertanke klart at stødforhold i latinudtalen (i *in´sula, in´sulae´, insularum ; aman´t, amare, amatur´* ['en’sula, 'en’suˌlɛ:’, ensu'lɑ:ʁɔm;'æ:ˌman’t, a'mɑ:ɑ, a'mæ:ˌtuɐ̆’]) er noget dansk og ikke noget latinsk, ganske som det ikke skyldes latinen når *rosa* af englændere udtales med diftong og "engelsk *r* ", og af franskmænd med finalt tryk og "fransk *r* ". Systemet er tydeligt i fx fremmedord fra de klassiske sprog og tysk, hvorimod *nyere engelske låneord ikke har stød.* Jeg foreslår følgende regel for stød (i overensstemmelse med vores analyses principper må det være en regel om ikke-stød i bestemte (tunge) stavelser):

i leksemet: næstsidste stavelse er stødløs

Denne regel dækker uden videre det altovervejende flertal af hjemlige rodord, der udgøres af enstavelsesord (som fx *hus, pæn, pen, telt, ven, kat, ja* omtalt tidligere, se fig. 1) samt tostavelsesord der ender på det svage *e* (schwa) (de er næsten undtagelsesløst stødløse, fx *tanke, ugle* ['tɑŋgə, 'u:lə]). Ord med gammelt ustemt *r* er en særlig gruppe i alle beskrivelser (på grund af en lydudvikling hvis konsekvenser endnu ikke har sat sig fuldt igennem i stødbrugen, fx *sport*, *(et) spark* [sbɒ:d, sbɑ:g], men former som *spark!*, *færdsel* har i moderne københavnsk rigsmål nu fået stød: [sbɑ:’g, 'fæɐ̆’sl̩]). Derimod bliver de mange undertyper af specielt enstavelsesord i relation til stødet som man normalt regner med, overflødige i min beskrivelse, fx følger det automatisk at enstavelsesord med langvokal har stød (som nævnt er bl.a. forbindelser af gammel kortvokal plus ustemt r samt engelske låneord som *team* osv. undtagelser).

Lad os som en anden type eksempel se på et enstavelses navneord som tager flertalsendelsen schwa (typen *hus, huse* [hu:’s, 'hu:sə]). Denne endelse er i vores system uproduktiv idet vi ikke danner flertal af nye navneord ved at tilføje *e* , og flertalsformer på *-e* har generelt samme segmentalfonologiske struktur som leksemer.

Dette udsagn strider tilsyneladende imod at også nye ord hvis stamme ender på tryksvagt *-er* (i skriften) danner flertal ved (stadig i skriften) at tilføje *-e* . Denne regel betragter jeg imidlertid som rent ortografisk i den her valgte moderne københavnske sprogform: efter *-er* er et oprindeligt schwa og et oprindeligt schwa plus r faldet totalt sammen (jf. stavefejl som **lærerer*). Ud fra den her valgte arbejdshypotese (se afsnit 5) ansætter jeg derfor den fuldproduktive endelse for sb. pl. **ə r** (som udtryk for en lingvistisk maksimalhypotese). Jeg kan i denne sammenhæng nævne at et par isolerede undtagelser til reglen om stødløshed i leksemer (jf. afsnit 6) der normalt analyseres som tostavelsesord endende på schwa, har det fælles at leksemet kan tildeles en fonologisk struktur der fjerner undtagelseskarakteren: *asie, bolche* (der kan opfattes som regelmæssige trestavelsesord); og det i denne sammenhæng mere relevante *ordre* (der kan opfattes som endende på schwa plus r). Sprogpsykologisk fortolket svarer det til at sprogbrugerne foretrækker en inputform med en fonologisk struktur der stemmer med fonologiske generaliseringer frem for en der ikke gør det.

Den her givne analyse af substantivernes pluralis-endelse *-e* som uproduktiv forudsiger derfor at roden altid vil være stødløs, idet nemlig leksem plus uproduktiv endelse i fonologisk henseende skal behandles som om det udgjorde et enkelt leksem, og i et leksem er næstsidste stavelse jo stødløs. Denne forudsigelse synes at holde.

Derimod forholder det sig anderledes med endelsen schwa i adjektiver (tillægsord). Den er produktiv ud fra vores definition (hvilket dog ingenlunde betyder at *e*-formen af et adjektiv altid dannes produktivt, se nedenfor), hvilket stemmer med at *e*-formen af fx *besk, smart, gængs* har stød ([' b e : ' s g ə , ' s m ɑ : ' d ə , ' g ɛ ŋ ' s ə]), modsat de fleste almindelige enstavelsesadjektiver (som fx *slanke* [' s l ɑ ŋ g ə]). At adjektivendelsen *e* er (kan være) produktiv, har også konsekvenser for bl.a. følgende eksempler: ord af typen *dunkel* bevarer stødet foran schwa: *dunkle* [' d ɔ ŋ ' g l ə] (og det er hovedreglen for adjektiver på *-el, -er*), hvorimod et substantiv (navneord) på *-el, -er* , hvis det danner flertal ved at tilføje *-e* og så samtidig smide det tidligere svage *e* væk (hvilket er det normale for navneord) aldrig bevarer stødet. Forklaringen er altså at flertalsendelsen schwa for navneord altid er uproduktiv: derfor vil flertalsformer som *vrimle* [' v ʁ ɛ m l ə] aldrig kunne have stød, idet de vil blive behandlet som ubøjede ord på schwa der som nævnt er stødløse.

I øvrigt er der helt særlige problemer forbundet med tostavelsesord der i skriften ender på *-el, -er, -en* ; jeg kan ikke diskutere disse spørgsmål her, men blot nævne at jeg ikke regner med nogen regel der kan indsætte et schwa (dvs. at *vrimmel* må være en form med kun én vokal fonologisk set, jf. *vrimle*).

7. *Ordstruktur og semiproduktive endelser*

Hypotesen om produktivitet som nøglen til ordets grammatik har ikke blot sin styrke i at bygge analysen på et vigtigt uafhængigt kriterium, men adskiller sig principielt på to andre måder fra konkurrerende opfattelser af morfologien: For det første fører den bøjning og afledning ind under en fællesbetragtning. Dette tillader os at aflede forudsigelser som at hvis en substantivisk afledning (fx på *-ing*) med et derivativ der i øvrigt forekommer som (semi)produktiv, har en uproduktiv endelse (fx flertal *e* i *yndling, yndlinge*), så må selve afledningen fungere som ét leksem, være leksikaliseret. Det stemmer med at betydningen af *yndling* heller ikke kan forudsiges af dets elementer.

Una Canger har fortalt mig at hun hos et barn har iagttaget eksemplet *sødlinge* som pluralis af det nydannede (ad hoc-dannede?) *sødling*. Dannelsen er mig ikke bekendt i øvrigt (min model forudsiger ikke at den kommer rigtigt ind i sprogbrugen). Det må understreges at når vi taler om barnesprog, og om spøgende dannelser af forskellig art, så er det klart at der også er mekanismer på spil som opererer med paralleldannelser, "analogier" osv., ligesom det er velkendt at børn på bestemte udviklingstrin overgeneraliserer fx stærke verbalparadigmer, også i præteritum hvor der ikke er nogen endelser.

For det andet forudsætter modellen primært en analyse af endelserne og ikke af resten af ordelementerne. Ud fra denne opfattelse kan vi forstå at der er mange tilfælde hvor vi kan identificere sidste del af et ord, men ikke den foregående del, og hvor ordet så behandles, dvs. forstås og kategoriseres, ud fra denne del. Et eksempel kan være *mærkværdig*, der jo fra den moderne sprogbrugers synspunkt ikke er dannet af de genkendelige elementer *mærkværd* og *ig* , men som ikke desto mindre i henseende til udtalen, specielt stød og tryk, fungerer som om den var det, efter min påstand fordi *ig* er en genkendelig endelse (afgørende for bl.a. ordklassen). I øvrigt gælder et tilsvarende princip om sidsteleddets prioritet også for sammensætninger: i *tyttebær* , som i det berømte engelske eksempel *cranberries*, er førsteleddet fra et synkront synspunkt ikke gennemskueligt, men alligevel opfattes ordet klart som en sammensætning på *-bær/-berries* . Hvis sidste led derimod bliver uigennemskueligt, så berører det selve sammensætningens karakter, altså som sammensætning, og det kan undergå reduktioner som usammensatte ord (jf. *vindue* der historisk set er en sammensætning af *vind* og *øje* , men som slet ikke opfattes som sammensat efter at andetleddets identitet er gået tabt). Se i øvrigt Basbøll 1994b:21 og 1998b.

Er alle endelser enten produktive eller uproduktive? Nej, det følger af definitionerne at der er mulighed for en mellemkategori mellem de to, en mellemkategori som jeg vil kalde semiproduktive endelser (det er som nævnt i afsnit 5 en konsekvens af at jeg har defineret yderpunkterne på en produktivitetsskala klart). Vi kan forudse tre forskellige typer af semiproduktive endelser, alene på grundlag af definitionerne (se afsnit 8 om anvendelsen af det her foreslåede system på andre sprog end dansk):

Definition af semiproduktiv endelse: en endelse der hverken er fuldproduktiv eller uproduktiv

Mulige typer af semiproduktive endelser (nævnt efter faldende produktivitetsgrad):

– dem der kan føjes til nye ord, men hvor basisformen ikke altid er en normal ordform

– dem der føjes til en begrænset delmængde af nye ord (denne type vil ikke blive yderligere opdelt her)

– dem der ikke føjes til nye ord, men som på den anden side ikke generelt behandles som del af leksemet i fonologisk henseende (dvs. at nogle fonologiske generaliseringer over leksemet ikke gælder for en helhed bestående af leksem plus semiproduktive endelser)

Ordstrukturen kan som nævnt i afsnit 5 symboliseres som følger:

[grundord] FPE

Dette giver følgende strukturformel for et ord der kun indeholder ét leksem, altså et usammensat ord. Runde parenteser omslutter hvad man kunne kalde min-ord, altså leksem plus uproduktive endelser (der jo fonologisk set behandles som del af leksemet); og firkantede parenteser omslutter grundordet, dvs. ordet minus de fuldproduktive endelser. Der er en "tuborg" (eng. curly bracket) på hver side af helheden bestående af grundord plus fuldproduktive endelser (dvs. omkring max-ordet i den her foreslåede terminologi, se nedenfor).

{ [(leksem UPE) SPE] FPE }

Forslaget til ordstruktur i moderne dansk, der er baseret på endelsernes grad af produktivitet, definerer samtidig tre mulige **domæner i fonologien**:

leksem plus uproduktive endelser = min-ord = (...)
hele ordet minus fuldproduktive endelser = grundord = [...]
grundord plus fuldproduktive endelser = max-ord = { ... }

Det er interessant at denne forudsigelse synes at stemme med domænet for nogle velkendte fonologiske regler:

min-ord = leksem plus uproduktive endelser: fx vokalforkortelse før to konsonanter (som illustreret af adj. *lyst* med kortvokal, dannet med den uproduktive neutrums-endelse *t* af *lys* med stødvokal (jf. modsætningsvis verbalformen *lyst* lige nedenfor); denne vokalforkortelsesregel kan med rette kaldes *uproduktiv* i fonologisk forstand)

grundord: fx bortfald af blødt d før t (som illustreret af præt. ptc.-former som *ledt* (hvor vokalen ikke forkortes foran den semiproduktive ptc.-endelse *t* , jf. også ptc. *lyst*; reglen der sletter et "blødt d" før *t* kan godt kaldes *semiproduktiv* i fonologisk forstand)

max-ord = grundord plus produktive endelser: fx schwa-assimilation (reglen er *fuldt produktiv*, i den naturlige fonologis forstand en "proces"; dette betyder selvfølgelig ikke at den så må være obligatorisk i alle stillinger).

Virkningen af disse regler kan ses i forskellige bøjningsformer (sml. Rischel 1970b), eksempelvis *hvidt, bidt; bedt, sprødt; fadt, perfidt* [vid, bid; be:’d, sbʁœ:’d; fæð’d, pæɐ̆'fið’d]:

[(vi:d t)] ADJ, [(bi:d t)] VB
[(be:d) t] VB , [(sprø:d) t] ADJ
[(fa:d)] t ADJ, [(perfi:d)] t ADJ

Man kan naturligvis ikke give eksempler med schwa-assimilation til illustration af forskellen mellem de forskellige fonologiske domæner da denne proces netop appliceres uafhængigt af de nævnte domænegrænser.

De produktivt dannede adjektiver på [ð] ("blødt *d* "), altså neutrumsformer som *ladt, fadt, perfidt, stupidt* udtalt med [ð] , byder mange sprogbrugere imod. Men der er ikke andre muligheder for disse bøjningsformer: [p æ ĕ ' f i : ' d] (med lang stødvokal men uden [ð]) er næppe muligt, og [p æ ĕ ' f i d] (uden [ð] men med kortvokal, jf. *solidt* [s o ' l i d]) *"perfit"* lyder som noget geologisk eller kemisk, det kan i hvert fald ikke være neutrumsformen af *perfid* .

Stødreglen for grundordet kan formuleres sådan:

Enstavet stamme før enstavet endelse er stødløs [gælder inden for grundordet]

Reglen er tæt beslægtet med leksemets stødregel: fælles for dem er at en stavelse før en enkelt stavelse (dvs. før en stavelse der står finalt i det relevante domæne) ikke har stød. Eller med andre ord: næstsidste stavelse i det relevante domæne (enten min-ord eller grundord) er stødløs. Det specielle for grundordsreglen er så restriktionen om at den stødløse stavelse alene skal udgøre den relevante stamme. Ligesom det overordnede stødprincip ifølge moraanalysen er at **stød er signal for en tung stavelse** , således kan man formulere grundordets stødregel således at **stødløs tung stavelse er signal for en følgende stavelse** (således formuleret dækker reglen også såvel leksem som min-ord, i overensstemmelse med modellen).

Jeg skal her nævne ordenstallene som eksempel på stødreglen for grundordet. Talordene danner ordenstal med flere forskellige endelser: i en række tilfælde er endelserne uproduktive (*tredje, fjerde* osv.). Den (fuld)produktive endelse er klart **-ende** : den breder sig til nye former som *fyrrende, tressende* osv., hvad der er medtaget i den nye Retskrivningsordbog fra 1996. De gamle former som *fyrretyvende* kan man ikke få unge mennesker til at bruge, efter min erfaring, og selv om man skulle være enig med Poul Lindegård Hjorth (1997:122) om at "alle sundt reaktionære kræfter vil kunne forenes i inderligt ønske om, at anslaget mislykkes" [nemlig forsøget på at udskifte *fyrretyvende* med *fyrrende* o.s.fr.] , så er jeg overbevist om at de gamle former står for fald. Endelig har formen **-te** en mellemstatus: den føjes til nye dannelser som *kvadrillard* osv., men er ikke "default"-form som **-ende**. **-te** er altså semiproduktiv i min terminologi. Det giver entydige forudsigelser om stødet: De uproduktive former skal være stødløse da deres eneste tunge stavelse er den næstsidste, og det er de da også: *tredje, fjerde* osv. De fuldproduktive på **-ende** skal have stød som i grundordet (fx stød i *syvende, niende , firsende* , men selvfølgelig ikke i *tyvende* osv. da *tyve* selv er stødløst). Og endelig skal ordenstallene på **-te** bevare stød hvis de føjes til en flerstavet stamme (som i *billionte, milliardtedel*) , men ikke hvis stammen er enstavet (fx *femte, tolvte*). Det stemmer altsammen.

Verbernes præsens (udsagnsordenes nutidsform) har brogede stødforhold, og der har i en periode været og er fortsat en udvikling henimod flere stød (*aner, råber* osv.). Ud fra vore analyseprincipper er der ikke tvivl om hvad den produktive præsens-endelse er, nemlig *r* ; de tilfælde hvor det kan afgøres om endelsen er syllabisk eller ikke, nemlig dem hvor stammen ender på vokal, giver nemlig et entydigt resultat: sml. verberne *går, syr* med substantiverne *åer, byer* [gɒː’, syɐ̆’; 'ɔː’ɐ, 'byː’ɐ]. Men de danske verber er morfologisk komplicerede fordi der er to mulige udgangsformer ved bøjningen, nemlig for det første infinitiven (som er en normal ordform), og for det andet stammen/imperativen som nok er den kortest mulige udgangsform men *ikke generelt* en normal ordform, jf. *hækl! , fæstn!* , osv. der strider grundlæggende mod principperne for hvordan ord kan opbygges (man kan dog give sprogstridige imperativer en mere "normal ordform" – fonotaks – ved fx at udtale *"hækkel"* med syllabisk l, eller evt. med ustemt l – men så er det ikke længere lig stammen – og formerne undgås ofte af sprogbrugerne, eller bruges med distance). For alle andre ordklasser er stammen også en normal ordform, derfor er denne specielle konflikt begrænset til verberne. Når jeg overhovedet stiller kravet om at en fuldproduktiv endelse generelt skal kunne føjes til en normal ordform, så er det fordi jeg vil være sikker på at processen er kvalificeret til at være produktiv, hvilket forudsætter at udgangsformen (før den fuldproduktive endelse) er psykologisk selvstændig, og det kan man ikke være hvis det er en konstrueret abstrakt form der er udgangspunkt, eller en form der på anden måde afviger fra en normal ordform. Da verberne er den eneste ordklasse hvor stammen ikke generelt er en normal ordform i min forstand, kan det ikke undre at man netop i verberne finder særlig store stødbevægelser (diakront) og stød-usikkerheder (fordi stamme og infinitiv konkurrerer om at være udgangsform, ifølge min analyse). *Med andre ord følger* *det af modellens krav om at en fuldproduktiv endelse generelt skal kunne føjes til en normal ordform, at en sådan endelse føjes til infinitiven og ikke stammen/imperativen.*

For de fuldt produktive svage verber (dem på *-ede*) er hovedprincippet derfor at infinitiven er udgangsformen; modellen forudsiger derfor at disse former, som fx *elsker, elskede, elsket* osv., ikke har stød. I de to sidstnævnte former må man forudsætte en generel regel før selve fonologien tager fat hvorved et schwa efter et schwa forsvinder (jf. at Erik Hansen (1977/84:14) opererer med en "allomorfiregel" der reducerer en sekvens af to schwa´er til ét). Andre eksempler på denne regel: flertal og best. af *helle* forbliver stødløse (den tunge stavelse er næstsidst i grundordet og derfor stødløs), modsat *hanner, hannen* (i alle de nævnte tilfælde er endelserne produktive og ændrer altså ikke stødforholdet).

Der er nogle interessante fællestræk ved de verber hvis præsensform går fra ikke-stød til stød (se Brink & Lund 1975:484-489): For det første har de lang vokal, dvs. deres rodstavelse er *tydeligt tung* og hører altså til den stavelsestype der normalt har stød (hvis den ikke lige rammes af ikke-stødreglen). For det andet har de en stamme og en bydeform der stemmer med principperne for ordstruktur (der er altså ingen eksempler som *fable/fabl!* osv. blandt disse verber), og stammen er derfor mindre problematisk som udgangsform end det ellers ville være tilfældet. Og endelig er *-te* -verber klart mere tilbøjelige til at have præsens-stød end *ede* -verber , hvilket stemmer med at deres datidsformer i forvejen dannes ud fra stammen og ikke infinitiven (sml. *elskede, elsket* med *mente, ment* hvor det i de sidstnævnte verbalformer er klart at *-te* og *-t* føjes til stammen og ikke til infinitiven). De to sidste argumenter taler begge til gunst for at når man danner bøjningsformer af netop disse verber, så er stammen et naturligt udgangspunkt, altså også for præsensformerne. Med andre ord er præteritumsendelsen *-te* , og præt. ptc.-endelsen *-t*, i vores system at regne for semiproduktive eller uproduktive; det sidstnævnte gælder typer som *brugte, bidt* (hvor fonologiske generaliseringer der er karakteristiske for leksemet, appliceres, jf. vokalkvantitet og manifestationen af *g*). I de mest udbredte *te-* typer bevares stammens fonologi uændret selv om fx vokallængde signalerer at der må være en endelse; disse typer er således semiproduktive. Hvis vi ser på verbaludviklingen ser det også ud til at nogle stærke verber har passeret *-te*-verberne på vejen til *-ede-* verber, og det forekommer mig plausibelt at sige at *-ede* -verber er klart mere produktive end *-te* -verber der igen er mere produktive end stærke verber (som er helt uproduktive og behandles som enkeltleksemer).

Jeg skal kun meget kort illustrere analysen af de mest komplekse ordformer, dem med mere end ét leksem (sammensætninger og visse afledninger). Tidligere nævnte jeg formen *mærkværdig* ; endelsen *-ig* er ud fra mine definitioner semiproduktiv, dvs. at en enstavet stamme før *-ig* skal være stødløs, men ikke en flerstavet stamme. Nu er det spørgsmålet om stammen er *mærkværd* eller blot *værd*. Det svarer til følgende to analysemuligheder:

[(mærk værd) ig] *eller* **[(mærk) (værd) ig]**

Første form ville svare til [((mærk) (værd)) ig], anden til [(mærk) ((værd) ig)], men det er ligegyldigt her, der er reelt to former at vælge imellem.

Argumentationen til gunst for [(mærk værd) ig] har tre led: (1) *ig* er semiproduktiv og ikke fuldproduktiv da *mærkværd* ikke er en normal ordform og *ig* i øvrigt heller ikke er default-form; det er mindre indlysende at *-ig* ikke er uproduktivt ud fra vore kriterier, men ikke alle fonologiske generaliseringer over leksemer synes at gælde for *-ig*-dannelser (spec. vedr. trykmønstre, jf. (3)). (2) Et sådant suffiks kan identificeres af sprogbrugeren også selv om det foregående ikke er en normal ordform (jf. sammensætninger som *tyttebær*, se afsnit 6 ovenfor). (3) I valget mellem dem er det afgørende trykket: jeg tager, i forlængelse af en række arbejder af Jørgen Rischel (fx 1983), jf. Basbøll 1978, 1990 og 1998b, det fælles tryk i en streng som udtryk for at de danner en enhed ("enhedstryk"); *dermed bruges trykket som symptom på den talendes strukturering*. Den fra faglitteraturen bekendte iagttagelse at der er en sammenhæng mellem enhedstryk inden for ordet, og stød, følger altså af analysen her, i kombinationen af redegørelsen for stød og tryk ud fra den samme strukturering. Den prosodiske strukturering stemmer med betydning og funktion: *værdig* indgår ikke på nogen gennemskuelig måde som betydningskomponent i *mærkværdig*, hvorimod *-ig* har sin helt normale funktion, nemlig at gøre helheden til et adjektiv (tillægsord). Jf. Raffelsiefen (1994, jf. 1993) som, i sit arbejde med historisk engelsk morfologi, har udviklet en model for morfologisk analyse der i en streng XY først spørger om Y er identificerbart, og hvis ja, så identificerer Y, uafhængigt af X; det mener jeg der er noget fundamentalt rigtigt i i sprog som engelsk og dansk.

Analysen af andre komplekse adjektiver på *-værdig* er mere diskutabel. I et eksempel som *menneskeværdig* (der i den her beskrevne moderne københavnske norm har stød) synes jeg en semantisk analyse med *menneskeværd* som del er mindst lige så oplagt som en med *værdig* (jf. den eksisterende og betydningsmæssigt nært beslægtede form *menneskeværd*). Men min afgørende pointe er at man identificerer efter sidste led når dette er transparent, altså: *ig* er klart endelsen (som bestemmer ordklasse osv., det tyder på en form for psykologisk realitet). Og når *ig* er endelsen og denne identificeres som transparent, så er stammen flerstavet. Det er mit (rent foreløbige) indtryk at vi går *fra* et system med klarere opdeling efter *semantisk transparens* af helheden (et mere klassisk system i strukturel forstand) – der ville forudsige stødvaklen i mange af disse eksempler fordi analysen er tvetydig eller uklar – *til* et system hvor sidsteleddet *-ig* er afgørende, hvad der vil forudsige (en bevægelse henimod) stød i alle herhenhørende former hos de yngre. Tilsvarende opfatter jeg *misundelsesværdig* som (i semantisk henseende) lig med "værd at misunde", ikke "værdig til misundelse" el. l., hvad der stemmer med den her foreslåede stødanalyse så vidt jeg kan se. På samme måde kan *anbefalelsesværdig* rimeligt analyseres som havende konstituenten "værd at anbefale".

Vi har allerede givet en prøve på hvordan forskellen mellem schwa som endelse i adjektiver og substantiver i relation til stød, kan afledes af deres forskellige produktivitet, nemlig *dunkle, vrimle* (se afsnit 6). Vi skal nu se på nok den vigtigste type eksempel der bruges som argument for at man må operere med stødregler der afhænger af ordklasser: substantiver og verber med forskellige stødforhold som i *en udtale, at udtale* henh. uden og med stød. (Spørgsmålet om stødtab eller ej i første sammensætningsled vil ikke blive behandlet her, men blot ganske kort omtalt i afsnit 9). Navneordet *udtale* er som forventeligt (ud fra vores model) uden stød, idet det må analyseres således:

[(ud) (tale)] (det er sammensat af *ud* og *tale*)

Endelsen for infinitiv (navnemåde) er ifølge vore definitioner semiproduktiv; at den ikke er produktiv beror som allerede sagt på at den basisform som endelsen føjes til, ikke altid er en normal ordform: imperativ (bydemåde) er nemlig *ikke generelt* en normal dansk ordform der kan stå alene, jf. former som *cykl!, ændr!* osv. Verbet (udsagnsordet) har derfor følgende analyse:

[((ud) (tal)) e] ***lig med*** **[(ud tal) e]**

Lad os argumentere lidt nøjere for den her foreslåede struktur. Hvis man med mig accepterer at der er en infinitivsendelse *e* , så er stammen *udtal* og ikke blot *tal* . Men stammen *udtal* er naturligvis selv sammensat af *ud* og *tal* som også kan kaldes stammer (stamme er ifølge min terminologi en *rekursiv kategori* som tegn og sætning, men modsat fx morfem og rod: stammer kan selv bestå af stammer, ganske som tegn og sætninger kan indeholde flere henh. tegn og sætninger, hvorimod en rod eller et morfem ikke kan indeholde flere henh. rødder eller morfemer). Jeg siger altså: verbet *udtale* opdeles først i stammen *udtal* og infinitivsendelsen *e* . Stammen *udtal* er sammensat af to stammer *ud* og *tal* (hver af disse stammer er en rod, idet de alene (eller sammen med et nulfleksiv ifølge nogle morfologiske modeller) kan danne et ord). Verbet *udtale* kan kun analyseres som sammensat af *ud* og *tale* hvis man *ikke* opererer med en infinitivsendelse, men en sådan analyse er altså ikke forenelig med vore præmisser.

Med andre ord er stammen af *udtale* ikke enstavet, og dermed falder den ikke ind under den særlige regel for ikke-stød i grundordet, men har blot stød som næsten enhver anden tung stavelse. *Vi har ikke benyttet begrebet ordklasse i denne forklaring*. Forklaringen gælder imidlertid tilsyneladende ikke generelt for substantiver: Hvorfor har flertalsformen *småfugle* ikke stød (som Lars Brink har spurgt mig om)? Det skyldes, som det fremgår af vores analyse her, at flertalsendelsen *e* er uproduktiv, ergo må strukturen i sådanne sammensatte navneord med flertalsendelsen schwa ud fra vores analysemodel være (idet jeg udskifter eksemplet):

[(guld) (ring e)] , ***ikke*** **[(guld ring) e]**

som man på forhånd kunne tro. Her er der virkelig en ny indsigt, mener jeg, der er overraskende, men velmotiveret i min analyse (omend naturligvis meget kontroversiel). Den foreslåede struktur er en følge af mine definitioner: *e* som plur. af sb. er uproduktiv, og endelsen er ikke signaleret af særlige fonologiske træk i ordformen. Den vil derfor blive behandlet som del af det såkaldte "min-ord" (leksem plus uproduktive endelser) *ringe* , dvs. ud fra min model blive ramt af den ikke-stødregel der gælder for min-ordet *ringe* (at næstsidste stavelse er stødløs). Heraf forudsigelsen: *guldringe* skal være uden stød, og det er også tilfældet.

8. Ordstruktur baseret på systematisk gradueret produktivitet: en tværsproglig model

Som det vil være fremgået tillader den her foreslåede model for ordstruktur baseret på systematisk gradueret produktivitet en overraskende simpel beskrivelse af de tilsyneladende overordentlig komplekse stødforhold (forudsat min fonologiske analyse hvorefter stød er signal for tung stavelse). Ordstrukturmodellen repeteres her i simpel form (jf. afsnit 7 ovenfor):

{ [(leksem UPE) SPE] FPE }

I *min-ordet* (dvs. leksem plus uproduktive endelser, min-ordet er indrammet af runde parenteser) er reglen: næstsidste stavelse er stødløs (sml. den traditionelle danske udtale af *insulae* med stød på første og sidste stavelse, *insularum* uden stød, se afsnit 6); i *grundordet* (dvs. hele ordet minus de fuldproduktive endelser, grundordet er indrammet af skarpe parenteser) er hovedreglen: enstavet stamme er stødløs før enstavet endelse (se afsnit 7). Fuldproduktive endelser har ifølge modellen (hvad der er korrekt) ingen indflydelse på stødforhold, dvs. at ingen stødregler har hele ordet (indrammet af "tuborg"-klammer) som domæne, se afsnit 5 (men schwa-assimilation kan medføre at en stavelse bliver tung og dermed får stød, jf. *sofa, sofaen*, se afsnit 4). I afsnit 7 gav vi eksempler på at ordstrukturmodellen også definerer segmentalfonologiske domæner. Vi skal nu forlade de rent danske forhold og overveje hvorledes modellen kan anvendes typologisk, til tværsproglige sammenligninger.

Først et par ord om produktivitetsbegrebets relevans for nogle klassiske sprogtypologiske kategorier. I mere end et århundrede har man i sprogtypologien skelnet mellem nogle hovedsprogtyper: isolerende, agglutinerende og flekterende (foruden polysyntetiske hvad der er en særlig dimension). Disse tre hovedtyper kan belyses ud fra den her anvendte morfologiske analysemodel byggende på produktivitet: **isolerende sprog** (med standardeksemplet klassisk kinesisk) har *ingen endelser* ; **agglutinerende sprog** (med standardeksemplet tyrkisk) har *kun produktive endelser* ; **flekterende sprog** (med standardeksemplet klassisk latin) har *både produktive og ikke-produktive endelser* , hvad der medfører at grænsen mellem roden og de grammatiske elementer bliver mindre skarp. Disse bemærkninger angår naturligvis kun en enkelt side af sprogtypologien.

Lad os herefter gå mere i detaljer med anvendelsen af den her foreslåede model for ordstruktur baseret på systematisk gradueret produktivitet. Som det nævnes i afsnit 5 ovenfor, kan man ved hjælp af de her anvendte definitionskriterier opstille 3 mulige grader af semiproduktive endelser, hvortil kommer fuldproduktive og uproduktive endelser. Det giver i alt 5 forskellige grader af produktivitet (idet dog PROD3 evt. kunne opdeles yderligere), opstillet på grundlag af denne model for ordstruktur, her nævnt i faldende produktivitetsrækkefølge:

PROD1: endelsen føjes til nye ord (som "default"); den basisform som endelsen føjes til, er altid en normal ordform (fx præt. *-ede*)

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PROD2: endelsen føjes til nye ord (som "default"); den basisform som endelsen føjes til, er ikke altid en normal ordform (fx infinitivs-endelsen schwa, idet verbets stamme ikke altid er en normal ordform, heller ikke selv om den anvendes som imperativ)
PROD3: endelsen føjes til en begrænset delmængde af nye ord (fx nul i pl.sb.)
PROD4: endelsen føjes ikke til nye ord; ikke alle fonologiske generaliseringer der gælder for leksemet, gælder også for leksemet plus disse endelser (fx ptc. -*t* som i *ment* , jf. langvokalen)
PROD5: endelsen føjes ikke til nye ord; fonologiske generaliseringer der gælder for leksemet, gælder også for leksemet plus disse endelser (fx neutrums-*t* i adj. *lyst* , jf. vokalforkortelsen, sml. *lys*)

Forholdet mellem disse fem produktivitetsgrader (der forudses af modellen her) og den opstillede model for ordstrukturen i moderne dansk er følgende: dansk kan siges at have "grammatikaliseret" således at PROD2, PROD3 og PROD4 ikke skelnes i fonologisk og morfonologisk henseende (men fungerer som det jeg har kaldt SPE), hvorimod PROD1 og PROD5 adskilles herfra og fra hinanden (som henh. FPE og UPE). Dette gælder altså den ordstruktur der er relevant for udtrykket (specielt de fonologiske domæner). Modellen har en indlysende sprogtypologisk anvendelsesmulighed: kategorierne PROD1, PROD2 osv. er *defineret uafhængigt af et bestemt sprog* (som dansk), og man kan derfor klassificere forekommende bøjnings- og afledningsendelser i et givet sprog i henseende til produktivitetsgrad, og herefter undersøge "grammatikaliseringen" af disse grader i henseende til ordstruktur (som den viser sig ved fonologiske domæner). Med andre ord egner modellen sig til en systematisk tværsproglig sammenligning af ordstrukturer baseret på produktivitet. Det kan fx undersøges hvor udbredt det er at sprogene ikke skelner mellem PROD1 og PROD2 (der begge er produktive i den forstand at de kan anvendes på nye ord som "default-case"), eller mellem PROD4 og PROD5 (der er fælles om ikke at blive anvendt på nye ord). Det er mit indtryk at den fælles "grammatikalisering" af PROD2, PROD3 og PROD4 som vi fandt for dansk, ikke er det forventede for sprog der overhovedet skelner systematisk mellem forskellige grader af produktivitet i den her benyttede betydning, og at det kan være en grund til at dette mønster ikke forlængst er blevet erkendt; men det må nærmere undersøgelser vise.

Vi kan nu spørge hvorledes den opstillede model for ordstruktur baseret på systematisk gradueret produktivitet kan testes. For det første kan og skal modellen naturligvis afprøves empirisk på kompetent lingvistik vis (segmentalfonologisk, prosodisk og morfologisk, med inddragelse af semantiske forhold); også sproghistorien udgør en vigtig anvendelsesmark for modellen. Det er metodisk væsentligt at ordstrukturen i vores model begrundes med et interessant og vigtigt uafhængigt kriterium (i forhold til de lingvistiske forhold som modellen skal beskrive), nemlig produktivitet (operationaliseret).

Men som allerede fremhævet kan modellen anvendes til andre sprog (og sprogtrin) end moderne dansk. Dette tillader for det første en systematisk sammenligning, på et veldefineret og gennemskueligt grundlag, mellem forskellige sprog i henseende til produktivitet (i den her operationaliserede forstand). For det andet udvides herved i væsentlig grad grundlaget for at lave en omfattende empirisk undersøgelse af produktivitet ved hjælp af andre end "rent lingvistiske" metoder, især sprogpsykologiske (i afsnit 9 nævnes modellens relevans for en testning af børns tilegnelse af bøjningsformer, jf. Bleses 1998).

Overordnet betyder modellen som sagt at *produktivitetsbegrebet bliver operationaliseret på tværsproglig basis og integreret i ordstrukturmodellen.* De fem produktivitetsgrader er klart defineret lingvistisk på en måde der er uafhængigt af forhold i det enkelte sprog og kan derfor sammenholdes med kvantitative forhold uden fare for cirkularitet. Modellen tillader at stille nogle lingvistisk og sprogpsykologisk interessante spørgsmål der peger ud over en iagttagelse af rent kvantitative relationer i materialet. I den henseende repræsenterer ordstrukturmodellen et betydeligt fremskridt i forhold til analyser der er baseret på *typer* af ord eller ordformer opstillet ud fra kriterier der ikke kan generaliseres på tværs af sprogene, således som det hyppigt har været tilfældet i fx barnesprogsforskningen.

9. Perspektiver: stød, funktion og kognition

Man kunne nu spørge hvorfor stødet ikke er forsvundet fra dansk for længe siden: Hvad skal vi dog med alle de alternationer hvor stød og ikke-stød veksler i beslægtede former af samme ord? Var det ikke meget nemmere at droppe stødet helt (det går jo meget godt for de fleste der er vokset op i den sydligste del af Danmark, i de stødløse dialektområder)? Der er mindst to svar på dette toleddede spørgsmål. For det første har stød, som mange andre udtaletræk, en vigtig signalfunktion, som markør for sproggrupper osv., der kan være **prestige i stød og dets placeringer**, og endnu tydeligere: manglende prestige i manglende stød og afvigende stødplaceringer; dette *sociolingvistiske spor* vil jeg ikke forfølge her.

Men stød er også **funktionelt i rent kommunikativ forstand**: stødet er en vigtig nøgle til ordstrukturen (Basbøll 1985): Når en sprogbruger skal tolke en lydsekvens han hører, kan stødet hjælpe til segmenteringen i grammatiske byggeklodser, i endelser osv. (hvad der er nødvendigt for den videre tolkning og forståelse): når man hører [ˈvɛnʼn̩] ved man – alene ud fra stødet – at der kunne være en grammatisk grænse efter stødsegmentet (som i [ˈpɛnʼn̩] *pennen : pen plus en*), før stødsegmentet (det rigtige (idet stød her er en funktion af endelsen): *vennen: ven* (stødløst) *plus en*) eller slet ingen (jf. *våben* med stød: [ˈvɔːʼbm̩]); det er de eneste muligheder. Når man hører *hals* [halʼs] med stød, ved man – alene ud fra stødet – at der kan være, men ikke behøver at være, en grænse før *s* ; i *tals* [tals] ved man – alene ud fra at der *ikke* er stød – at der skal være en stærk grænse før *s* , derfor *må s* være en fuldproduktiv endelse, altså genitivsendelsen. I [ˈklɛːʼdə] *klædte* med stød ved man – alene ud fra stødet – at der skal være en stærk grænse før schwa: *klædt plus e* , dvs. at schwa er en fuldproduktiv bøjningsendelse, ergo må det være adjektivs-endelsen. Og så fremdeles. At stødet har en sådan vigtig funktion for sprogperceptionen gør det oplagt at undersøge modellen ud fra barnets stødtilegnelse og barnets stødtilegnelse ud fra modellen. Netop spørgsmålet om hvordan barnet kommer fra lydstrengen til en segmentering (fonologisk, grammatisk, semantisk) hører til barnesprogsforskningens mest brændende.

Det har ikke været muligt i denne sammenhæng at behandle stødforholdene i 1. led af sammensætninger. Det produktive forhold er at der ikke sker ændringer, men veletablerede 1. sammensætningsled på én stavelse taber som hovedregel stødet (det er altså ikke afgørende om hele sammensætningen er veletableret, men om førsteleddet er veletableret som sådan). Det er nu interessant at for meget komplekse og helt uetablerede ("ad hoc"-dannede) sammensætninger (af typen *friturekoge, efterårsgrave*) gælder tilsyneladende et kognitivt motiveret princip med dén effekt at ordene brydes op i mindre strukturer (jf.

diskussionen om *mærkværdig* i afsnit 7 ovenfor); og generelt synes det at gælde for meget tunge sammensætningsled at prosodisk tyngde (som stødet er et udpræget eksempel på) synes at forekomme sammen med andre former for lingvistisk tyngde; dette princip er ikonisk. Om sådanne kognitivt motiverede principper, se Basbøll 1990, 1994b og 1998b.

Jeg skal til afslutning antyde nogle perspektiver i den foreslåede analysemodel. Først et sammenlignende **nordisk** (jf. Gårding 1977). Som det er fremgået af afsnit 3 ovenfor, er der en afgørende forskel i stavelses/morastruktur mellem dansk og svensk/norsk. Det danske stød er centralt og direkte afhængigt af stavelsesstrukturen (stød er signal for 2. mora), hvorimod stavelsesstrukturen kun har indirekte betydning for de svensk/norske tonemer (accent 2, og dermed tonemmodsætningen, forudsætter en tung stavelse plus endnu en stavelse). I svensk/norsk er accent 2 (gravis) entydigt det markerede (både fonetisk, som det der ligger "ud over" sætningsintonationen, og fonologisk, som det der forudsætter flere stavelser). I dansk er det mere komplekst: fonetisk set er stød det markerede, men fonologisk og morfologisk set er det rimeligst at sige at stødløshed er det markerede for tunge stavelser. Stød er en stavelsesprosodi der er underlagt "morfonologiske" (lydligt-grammatiske) restriktioner, accent 2 en ordprosodi der ligeledes er underlagt "morfonologiske" restriktioner; disse restriktioner opviser i øvrigt en betydelig lighed på tværs af de nordiske hovedsprog, og også på svensk/norsk synes der at være en sammenhæng mellem syllabisk ikke-produktiv endelse og forekomst af accent 2. At manifestationen af tonemerne er sammenvævet med manifestationen af sætningsintonationen, vil forventeligt skabe vanskeligheder for den der skal tilegne sig systemet, og det er næppe så let for barnet at lære tonemerne som at lære stødet; det må naturligvis undersøges systematisk. Jeg må desværre lade det nordiske perspektiv blive ved disse antydninger.

Analysemodellen er **sprogpsykologisk** relevant, bl.a. i forhold til barnets **sprogtilegnelse**. Lad os se på **verbernes datidsformer**. De stærke verber (som *sang, stod* osv.) er indlysende uproduktive og behandles som leksemer. Den fuldt produktive endelse er *-ede* , den kan føjes til nye ord helt generelt (dvs. nye ord hører til *ede*-klassen). Datidsformer på *-te* er ikke produktive som dem på *-ede*, men forekommer intuitivt alligevel mere produktive end de stærke former. Dette kan belyses historisk: stærke verber kan fx overgå til *-te*-verber (og evt. senere til *-ede*-verber); men det afgørende ifølge vore definitioner er at fonologiske generaliseringer for leksemet ikke generelt gælder for *te*-verberne (jf. at vokallængden bevares i eksempler som *ment, tålte* osv.). Denne graduering af præteritumsklasserne i henseende til produktivitet ud fra den her foreslåede model – som i betydelig grad, men ikke fuldstændigt – svarer til fordelingen i andre nordiske sprog, afspejles tilsyneladende i danske børns tilegnelsesmønster af datidsendelser (se Bleses 1998): jo større produktivitet, jo bedre tilegnelse. Spørgsmålet bliver så om frekvens spiller en selvstændig rolle, for det er klart at frekvensen er vigtig, især i begyndelsen. Men hele dette spørgsmål er komplekst, bl.a. fordi frekvensen (der må gælde inputtet for barnet) må ses i forhold til *typer* (jf. stærke verber der som leksemer er langt mere frekvente end svage i begyndelsen), og fordi fonologisk og morfologisk – og givetvis også semantisk – transparens spiller ind.

Begrebet *frekvens* forudsætter at forekomster kan identificeres, dvs. det forudsætter logisk set at man opererer med *typer* (også når det kaldes *token frequency*), da to forekomster i inputtet aldrig *er* identiske. Såvel fonetiske som fonologiske og morfologiske typer er relevante her, hvad der komplicerer brugen af typebegrebet.

Ud fra min model må den produktive endelse forventes at tilegnes som sådan, mere pludseligt og tidligere end man ud fra de rent kvantitative forhold (et rent frekvens-synspunkt) skulle vente. Man kan muligvis se en forklaringsmulighed for det nævnte tilegnelsesmønster for datidsendelser i at regne med tre grader af produktivitet i nordisk modsat engelsk.

Engelsk har været det helt dominerende "genstandssprog" i internationale undersøgelser. I den herhenhørende faglitteratur har man ofte kun skelnet mellem regelmæssige og uregelmæssige endelser, og hyppigt slet ikke været opmærksom på at regelmæssige endelser absolut ikke behøver at være produktive, hvad der er sprogpsykologisk vigtigt. Engelsk har en yderst simpel fleksionsmorfologi sammenlignet med bl.a. andre germanske sprog (samt romanske og slaviske eksempelvis), og det er muligvis årsag til den manglende distinktion mellem kategorierne regelmæssige og produktive endelser i en del af faglitteraturen.

Fra den her foreslåede models synspunkt bliver følgende spørgsmål centralt: hvorledes kan sprogbrugerne i almindelighed, og barnet i særdeleshed, lære hvilke endelser der er fuldt produktive? Ud fra modellen er det afgørende at den basisform som endelsen føjes til, er en normal ordform og at den optræder i samme fonologiske skikkelse (uden at undergå morfonologiske alternationer) som selvstændigt ord. *Disse to betingelser forøger transparensen af ordformens struktur* (transparensen angår også det semantiske, og man bør derfor undersøge sammenhængen mellem tilegnelsen af en endelses form, betydning og kategori). Modellen forudsiger at antal forskellige ord der tager en given endelse (*type frequency* i en væsentlig del af faglitteraturen), medvirker til at give den en høj grad af produktivitet. Men ifølge den her fremsatte opfattelse er frekvensen altså logisk noget sekundært ("et symptom") i forhold til produktiviteten, selv om barnet billedlig talt møder frekvensforhold i sit input (ikke frekvens som sådan, men frekvensen er naturligvis et udtryk for hvilke former der er hyppige for barnet) og ikke umiddelbart produktivitet.

I forhold til de sprogtilegnelsesmodeller der på meget interessant måde diskuteres i Bybee (1995), udskiller min model sig ved at produktivitet for det første defineres lingvistisk i fem klart adskilte grader, at definitionen er uafhængig af det enkelte sprog og derfor egnet til typologiske sammenligninger, og endelig at transparens kan siges reelt at indgå i definitionskriterierne. Jeg kalder her *type frequency* (antal leksikalske enheder der har en given bøjning) et *symptom* på produktivitet, og ikke (som Bybee) en *determinant* for produktivitet, da en produktiv "proces" *over tid* vil medføre en høj type frequency, men ikke nødvendigvis have det i udgangspunktet; det er efter min mening helt skævt at anse *type frequency* som *årsag* til, eller forklaring på, produktivitet. Men jeg er enig med Bybee i en række vigtige distinktioner (således mellem termerne *default, regular, productive*), i den kognitive fundering af modellen, og i det væsentlige også i analysen af endelsernes status i "high frequency regulars" (s. 450-451), som hun bl.a. begrunder i konsonantlængdeforhold.

Det er blevet sagt at en egentlig forklaring af stødets distribution, i forhold til ordtyper og enkeltord, må være **historisk**, og det er da også rigtigt at nutidens stødforhold i mange tilfælde kan føres tilbage til forskellen mellem gamle en- og tostavelsesord, til gamle trykforhold, til gamle ordstrukturer osv. Men det er ikke relevant når man som jeg tager udgangspunkt i den moderne sprogbruger og søger at finde hans/hendes produktive system: sprogbrugerne er jo ikke belastet af nogen omfattende sproghistorisk viden, det gælder såvel de voksne som de børn der er i færd med at tilegne sig systemet. Derimod er det yderst relevant at undersøge hvornår de enkelte delprincipper har været produktive, hvornår en regel er gået fra at have været lydligt bestemt til at blive noget der styres af ordstrukturen, osv. Et interessant historisk spørgsmål er *hvornår og hvordan produktive endelser overgår til at være semiproduktive og uproduktive* : Mange af de produktive bøjningsendelser i dansk (se afsnit 5, fig. 28) forekommer også som mindre produktive (altså som semiproduktive eller uproduktive), i bestemte ordformer. Som eksempler kan nævnes neutrumsendelsen **t** i adjektiver (tillægsord), der dels er fuldt produktiv (fx i *fadt* [f æ ð ' d]), dels, i en række almindelige adjektiver, uproduktiv (fx i *fladt* [f l a d]). Endvidere endelsen **ə d** i verbalbøjningen (præt.

participium), der dels optræder som fuldt produktiv, fx i *elsket* ['ɛlsgəð], dels som semiproduktiv, fx i *gået* ['gɔ:ð̣]. (Denne forskel kan forklare det umiddelbart lidt ejendommelige forhold – fra et synkront synspunkt, jf. andre bøjningsformer – at svage verber af *ede* -klassen, hvis infinitiv ender på trykstærk vokal (som *nå*), har stød i præt. ptc. modsat stærke, sml. *nået, gået*, henh. med og uden stød). Og endelig endelserne **tə** og **t** i verbalbøjningen (henh. præt. og præt. ptc.) der dels optræder som semiproduktiv (fx *ledte, ledt*), dels som uproduktiv (fx *bagte, bidt*). Efter min opfattelse er dét at samme endelse, med samme fonologiske form, kan have forskellige grader af produktivitet, ikke en slaphed i analysen, men derimod udtryk for en almen sproghistorisk mekanisme: i tidens løb kan endelser smelte mere og mere sammen med roden, med undertiden voldsomme konsekvenser for sprogsystemet. Denne mekanisme grunder sig i forhold ved sprogperceptionen: det er somme tider svært eller umuligt, ikke mindst for barnet der skal lære sprogsystemet, at afgrænse endelserne. Det er en af grundene til at naturlige sprog altid ændrer sig.

Lad os belyse forholdet til det historiske med et enkelt (kontroversielt) eksempel, nemlig relationen mellem produktivt stød og schwa-assimilation (se afsnit 4). Ifølge min analyse er det ikke schwa-assimilationen der forårsager stødet, men den medfører forlængelse af den foregående sonorant (i eksempler som *hannen* vs. *han* , *sofaen* vs. *sofa* osv.) hvad der er en forudsætning for stød (dvs. medfører "stød-basis" i den traditionelle terminologi). Det kronologiske problem består i at komplekset af schwa-assimilationer (ifølge Brink & Lund 1975) begynder kort før 1840, hvorimod stød er meget ældre. Nu har Brink & Lunds materiale ganske vist indbygget en skævhed til fordel for meget distinkte, evt. overdistinkte, udtaler, som følge af at specielt den ældre del af det er gamle grammofonplader o.s.fr. med formelle interviews, til dels oplæsninger osv., dvs. at et fænomen som schwa-assimilation må forventes at være underrepræsenteret. Men det fremgår (Brink & Lund: 207, 209) at *el, en, et = ed* (som det jo drejer sig om her) har assimilation fra begyndelsen af perioden (de henviser bl.a. til Allen 1811 og til gamle dialektbeskrivelser, samt til at svensk, tysk, og engelsk der i øvrigt ikke kender til schwa-assimilation, har den netop før sonorant, s. 207). Man kan altså ikke bare vurdere kronologien af stød som sådan over for schwa-assimilation som sådan, det må tages i de konkrete typer. Assimilation efter vokoid regner jeg også for obligatorisk i den her valgte norm (fx i *hyppige*), men ifølge Brink & Lund 1975 gennemføres assimilationen efter *i y u* først i løbet af perioden (jf. afsnit 4).

Der er to særlige problemer forbundet med former med *-et* (i skriften): For det første er udtalen med den alveolære halvvokal til sidst ("blødt d"), som er den der fremkalder den obligatoriske schwa-assimilation i den her valgte sprognorm, ikke gennemført i alle provinsielle rigsmåls-nære sprogformer, ikke mindst hos ældre. For sådanne sprogbrugere, der fx udtaler *føllet* ['føl'əd] med obligatorisk klusil til sidst og med en tydelig schwa-vokal, kan stødbrugen ikke forklares alene ved de mekanismer der er foreslået her, ligesom fx sprogbrugere der ikke har stød i ord af typen *betale*, ikke fuldt ud kan dækkes af vores stødanalyse. Det er der ikke noget mærkeligt eller forkert i. For det andet er der hos nogle sprogbrugere der falder ind under den her valgte sprognorm, mulighed for final klusil hvis schwa foregås af et "blødt d", altså i ord som *badet, udstedet*. Jeg opfatter denne klusiludtale som en sen dissimilationsproces og ikke som noget der har med underliggende former og den fonologiske repræsentation at gøre, men under alle omstændigheder udgør disse former intet problem for den her foreslåede analyse idet schwa vil falde ind under den obligatoriske assimilationsregel alligevel på grund af den foregående halvvokal [ð] .

Uanset hvordan det historisk forholder sig, så er min analyse ikke et forsøg på at afspejle den historiske udvikling, men på at finde et muligt synkront system (derfor vægten på det produktive) for den sprogform jeg beskriver. Derfor er det også vigtigt at holde sig til én bestemt sprogform i denne fase af analysen, og vi må se i øjnene at man ikke uden videre kan slutte fra den ene sprogform til den anden når det gælder reelle synkrone sprogsystemer. Følgende spørgsmål må være centrale: Hvilket lingvistisk system kan ligge bag sprogbrugerens (her: den mod.kbh.rm.-talendes) adfærd i h.t. stød, specielt produktivt stød, og hvordan kan det være muligt for barnet at tilegne sig stødsystemet? Her hjælper historisk viden ikke, jf. de mange velkendte eksempler i sproghistorien på at processer begynder fx som rent fonetiske og så bliver morfologiseret, at der kommer analogier, at tidligere grammatiske eller leksikalske betingelser bliver droppet, osv. Det er ikke noget argument for en given synkron opfattelse at det tidligere har været på en bestemt måde; derimod er det et interessant og væsentligt forskningsprojekt at følge disse udviklinger i sproghistorien.

Lad mig slutte som jeg begyndte, med et eksempel på produktive flertalsformer som ikke under nogen omstændigheder kan være tillærte: om der er for få eller for mange *Clinton´er* kan muligvis diskuteres, næppe at selv én er for mange *Saddam´er* . I begge disse former er der obligatorisk stødtilkomst i den her beskrevne københavnske rigsmålsnorm, når navnene iklædes (delvis) dansk sprogdragt, og det hænger sammen med lydstrukturen som fremstillet i afsnit 4 ovenfor. Men hvis vi i stedet tager det andet navn på den irakiske diktator og bøddel, så kommer der normalt ikke noget stød i flertalsformen, hvis jeg skal tro de rigsmålstalende som jeg ganske uformelt har spurgt (og det gælder i øvrigt i mange andre former for moderne rigsdansk og rigsmålsnært dansk): *Hussein´er* siger de fleste uden stød. Hvorfor nu det, det er jo en tung final stavelse og burde vel således have alle betingelser for at få stød? Ifølge min model er svaret følgende: *Hussein* har, som det normalt er tilfældet med nyere lån, ikke stød i grundformen og må derfor, netop fordi den finale stavelse er tung, være markeret som stødløs (som antydet vil det ske ved en generel regel for fremmede former, uanset præcist hvordan den skal formuleres). Det følger af de her fulgte almene principper at et sådant ikke-stød ikke kan ændres ved nogen stødregel eller nogen lydstrukturrestriktion. *Saddam* derimod vil ikke være markeret i henseende til stødforhold da sidste stavelse er let, og det kan naturligvis heller ikke være en undtagelse til schwa-assimilationsreglen ud fra vore principper. De tillader som eneste særmarkering vedr. stødforhold at stød eller ikke-stød er markeret i leksikon, og det følger af vores model at sådanne "undtagelses-morfemer" ikke kan indgå i stødalternationer overhovedet (se afsnit 1). Det er en meget stærk restriktion, og det skal selvfølgelig undersøges om den kan opretholdes i et stort materiale.

Den her foreslåede analysemodel er for det første simplere og mere logisk tilfredsstillende end nogen mig bekendte alternativer (der er meget stærke restriktioner på hvilke procedurer der tillades, se afsnit 1); for det andet er den baseret på stærk uafhængig evidens, specielt produktivitet, og påstandene om lydstrukturen er fonetisk efterprøvelige; og for det tredje gør den faktisk bedre rede for det samlede stødmønster (i deskriptiv forstand) end foreliggende eksplicitte alternative modeller (hvormed jeg altså ikke bare mener beskrivelser). Men det må huskes at min analyse kun gælder en enkelt side af stødproblematikken, nemlig stødet i forhold til sprogbrugeren (i psykologisk og lingvistisk forstand), oven i købet i en enkelt velbeskrevet sprogform. Dels findes der naturligvis helt andre og ikke mindre væsentlige områder af stødbeskrivelsen, som stødets fonetik, stødets opståen og udvikling, stød i dialekter, osv. Men der er også særdeles meget der står tilbage inden for denne analysemodels rammer – udover en gennemgang af et større og mere varieret ordstof – såvel en udvidelse af anvendelsesområdet af modellen historisk og geografisk, som dens applikation i eksperimentel sprogpsykologisk forstand. Og sidst, men ikke mindst, repræsenterer den her foreslåede model for ordstruktur baseret på systematisk gradueret produktivitet et betydeligt sprogtypologisk potentiale.

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